

The
AMERICAN
HISTORICAL
REVIEW

Board of Editors

A. C. KREY

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MARGARET BLEGEN

VOLUME XLIX
OCTOBER, 1943, TO JULY, 1944

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LONDON: MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.
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KRAUS REPRINT CO.

A U. S. Division of Kraus-Thomson Organization Limited

Printed in U.S.A.

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The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. XLIX, No. 1

October, 1943

The Rise of the Junkers in Brandenburg- Prussia, 1410-1653

Part I

HANS ROSENBERG*

THE Junkers of East Elbia represent the only governing class produced by Germany that has maintained a virtually unbroken record of social and political pre-eminence throughout modern times. The enduring strength and extraordinary tenacity of this class have been great enough to survive all attacks threatening its existence.

The Junkers have been a persistent and a domineering force in modern German history. They have always been there. They are still there. First we find them as rugged frontiersmen, reckless land-grabbers, and restless and unscrupulous adventurers on the lookout for a "lucky chance" in the remote

* Dr. Rosenberg is now assistant professor in Brooklyn College. He was born in Hanover, Germany, and received his doctor's degree from the University of Berlin in 1927. He was a fellow of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, 1927-28, on the staff of the National (German) Historical Commission, and a Privatdozent in the University of Cologne in 1932-33.

wilderness of the disputed border regions of East Elbia. Then, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they present themselves as members of a consolidated noble squirearchy. They have settled down to the job of organizing capitalist farming in a more systematic way, and they function as an administrative and political oligarchy that deems itself a social aristocracy and virtually closes its ranks to newcomers of non-noble origin.

In the era of dynastic absolutism we meet them again as vigorous economic entrepreneurs and uncontested masters of rural government. In addition, they have become professional army officers, bureaucratic administrators, diplomats, and courtiers forming the governing elite of the Hohenzollerns' Kingdom of Prussia. Then we encounter them as men of "blood and iron" and skillful politicians who bring about the "Prussification of Germany." They abdicate as monopolists of political power but remain at the top of the social hierarchy and political aristocracy. After the collapse of the monarchy they re-emerge from momentary oblivion as highly effective saboteurs of the German Republic. Though not without hesitation, they develop into the active allies of Hitler's version of Pan-Germanism, resting on the "Teutonization of Prussia" and moving toward the founding of the "New Order."

The historic record established by the Junker class has found an interesting reflex in the history of the word Junker.¹ The word is of Middle High German origin. It derives from *junk-herre*, *junc-herre*. Used in contrast to *altherre* the word originally denoted a young nobleman. Like the Dutch *jonker*, *jonkheer*, it gradually acquired a broader meaning by becoming a synonym for any country squire and, finally, any person claiming noble status and privileges. That the patrician elements in the Baltic sea towns frequently classified themselves as Junkers reflected the social aspirations of the upper strata of urban colonial society in East Elbian territories. The great assembly hall of the merchants of Danzig was called *Junkerhof*.

Not before the early nineteenth century did the word Junker become a politically abusive term, challenging the Junkers' monopoly of social and political leadership. The change resulted from the emergence of a liberal and democratic movement in Germany in conjunction with the new concept of progress as it was generated by the French Revolution and the Prussian reform era. In this sense, usually reserved to members of the East Elbian landed nobility and their relatives in the Prussian army and bureaucracy, the word implied, above all, the provocative display of social arrogance, plus intellect-

¹ Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, IV, Part II (Leipzig, 1877), 2399-2402; Otto Ladendorf, *Historisches Schlagwörterbuch* (Strassburg, 1906), pp. 153 f.; Hans Rosenberg, *Die Nationalpolitische Publizistik Deutschlands* (Munich and Berlin, 1935), II, 506, 510, 543, 548, 646, 864, 879, 970-72; *Shorter Oxford Dictionary*, I (1933), 1074.

ual narrowness, blended with a materialistic conception of social ethics based on the principle that might supersedes right and reasoned discussion. It also meant adherence to political and social reaction aiming at the preservation or restoration of noble privileges in the various spheres of public life.

The use of the word Junker in the service of political propaganda was most fashionable during the era of national unification, especially during the crucial years of the constitutional conflict in Prussia. Indicative of a whole institutional system, social philosophy, and way of life then under attack were the terms Junkerdom (*Junkertum*), Junker-State (*Junkerstaat*), Junker-Regime (*Junkerregiment*), Junker-Domination (*Junkerherrschaft*), and Junker-Dictatorship (*Junkerdiiktatur*). The idea, prevalent at this time, of the Junker as the individual embodiment of an anachronistic system was summed up by Ludwig Bamberger²: "Le véritable junker est avant tout le rejeton d'une famille militaire, mélange de cavalier à la Stuart, de sous-lieutenant prussien, de baron féodal germanique, et de Don Quichotte espagnol." This concept was retained by Bismarck's opposition, the left-wing Liberals and the Social Democrats, who, in the era of increasing participation of the landed nobility in industrial expansion, enlarged the vocabulary already in the field by speaking, for instance, of Liquor-Barons (*Spiritusbarone*) and Chimney-Junkers (*Schlotjunker*).

The same Junker concept that was characteristic of the political terminology of the German liberals in their fighting days has prevailed in the English-speaking countries to the present day. Here it has usually been associated with what in the light of the historic realities appears to be too static and oversimplified an idea of "Prussianism" and the "Prussian Spirit." The *Oxford Companion to English Literature* defines these terms as "the national spirit or political system of Prussia, with reference to the arrogance and overbearing character attributed to the former, and to the militarism of the latter."

A brief but flourishing Indian summer in the history of the word Junker as a term of reproach occurred in 1932, when Franz von Papen formed the Junker-Cabinet. At that time the Nazis, more vigorously than any other party in the field, revived the militant anti-Junker slogans of the 1860's. The subsequent tactical alliance with the Junker landowners, fortified after the blood purge of June, 1934, by the alignment with the Junker generals, naturally discredited the old battle cries. In the ensuing and still undecided struggle between the Junkers and the Nazis over making use of each other, the Nazi propagandists have not been slow in dissociating the traditional con-

² *M. de Bismarck* (Paris, 1868), pp. 15 f.

nection between the Junkers and the Prussian traditions by putting the word Junker out of circulation and by taking over the Prussian myth—lock, stock, and barrel. For the time being, therefore, the National Socialists have taken the place of the Junkers in presenting themselves to the public as the incarnation of real Prussianism: the sum total of certain political qualities and social virtues such as hard work, frugality, discipline, order, duty, self-sacrifice, and subordination to the common good and to the power and greatness of the state, *i.e.*, blind obedience to the commands of those in authority.

I

The Junkers have been a persistent but not a static force in the development of modern Germany. The social and biological composition of the Junker class and its relationship to the other strata of society have been subject to significant changes. This is equally true of the functional activity and occupational status, the character and moral fiber, the attitude of mind and spirit, and the mode of life typical of its members. Needless to say, there have always been isolated Junkers who were “traitors to their class.”

Colonial East Elbia had its individual Junkers but no Junker class, except for the Teutonic Knights. The formation of a closely knit noble landlord class with great political and social ambitions, displaying solidarity and class-consciousness, a collective will manifested in concerted defense and aggression, and a caste-like self-assurance and *esprit de corps*, was the work of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This rise of the Junkers to a corporate position of economic, social, and political leadership formed an integral part of a European process of social and institutional innovation. Chronologically it coincided with the ascent of the gentry in England and Hungary, of the landed nobility in Bohemia and Moravia, and of the *szlachta* in Poland, as well as with the economic and political decline of the leisured *noblesse* of seignorial rentiers and absentee landlords in France and western Germany.

This rise of the Junkers took place in a number of politically separated and subdivided East Elbian territories, such as Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Brandenburg, Prussia, and Silesia. Most decisive, in the light of developments in later centuries, was the advance of the Junker squirearchy in Brandenburg and Prussia. The electorate of Brandenburg (Kurmark) had served as the core of the Brandenburg-Prussian state which, in 1618, came into existence when John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg, became also duke of Prussia. Until then Brandenburg and Prussia had led a completely separate existence.

The Kurmark of Brandenburg was a composite territorial state which consisted primarily of the North or Old Mark west of the Elbe, the Priegnitz,

the Middle Mark, the Ucker Mark between the Elbe and the Oder, and the New Mark east of the Oder, which, in 1402, had been lost to the Teutonic Order but was regained in 1455. Since 1412 the electorate had been loosely held together by the Hohenzollerns only through personal union.

During the century that followed the extinction of the Ascanian dynasty in 1320, Brandenburg was dominated by a highly unstable group of ruthless adventurers who were mostly parvenus and not the scions of old noble families. Membership in this "aristocracy" depended entirely on individual success in maintaining the position of landed magnate and possessor of fortified castles functioning as military and administrative centers. No community of interests, no solidarity of social feeling, no fixed set of restraints, no code of honor or chivalry, no spirit of corporate exclusiveness, no devotion or loyalty toward any principle, except that of the survival of the strongest, established any bond of union and cohesion among these shiftless men, acknowledged leaders of a large district one day but often miserable backwoodsmen or hunted vagabonds the next day. They were used to fighting each other and to trampling underfoot the much more numerous but less powerful group of squires who were holders of knights' estates (*Rittergüter*) by transforming them into docile vassals or parasitic household officials. The magnates showed no scruples in the choice of occupation or source of income which would have tended to draw a distinction between the noble and non-noble mode of living. Their wealth, income, and power remained subject to violent fluctuations. They lived partly from land rents and the legitimate sale of agricultural commodities. But they also established an impressive record as horse and cattle thieves, as organizers of bloody robber raids called feuds, as dealers in stolen goods and as usurers, as fraudulent public administrators, forgers of legal documents, appropriators of gifts made over to the church, and as treacherous mercenaries.³ There was, in this century of anarchy and lawlessness, nothing constructive or farsighted in the planning of their lives. They functioned as an element of chronic disorder.

To crush the armed resistance of the most powerful members of this "castle-residing nobility" (*Schlossgesessener Adel*) took the Hohenzollerns a whole century. They could do so only in alliance with the country squires who were fighting for their emancipation from the control of the leading families. Throughout the fifteenth century, engaged in a struggle for survival, the Hohenzollerns were forced to compromise and to maneuver. Contrary to the historical legend developed by the Prussian school of historiography

³ Numerous illustrations in Theodor Fontane, *Wanderungen durch die Mark Brandenburg*, (2 vols., 2d ed., Berlin, 1865); *id.*, *Fünf Schlösser* (2d ed., Stuttgart, 1905); Felix Priebatsch, "Die Hohenzollern und der Adel der Mark," *Historische Zeitschrift*, LXXXVIII (1902), 193-246.

from Johann Gustav Droysen to Reinhold Koser, Hohenzollern rule did not mean the decline but the growth and definite stabilization of Junker wealth and power. True, the Hohenzollerns liquidated some of the Junker magnates. More important, however, was their fortification and consolidation of the position of the Junker squires at the expense of the other strata of society, as well as of the landed possessions of both crown and church. Transplanting South-German concepts and standards of noble life and knighthood into the frontier region of Brandenburg, the Hohenzollerns by 1500 had succeeded in bringing to a virtual end individual outbursts of baronial brigandage and open rebellion against the dynastic authority. But in their stead emerged the organized corporate pressure of a formidable body of class- and caste-conscious Junker landlords and entrepreneurs who resorted to concerted action and collectively were far more powerful toward the dynastic ruler than their predecessors had ever been.

In Prussia the rise of the Junkers began with the decline of the monastic aristocracy of the Teutonic Knights, who had kept their ranks closed to members of the native population. In the hands of this ruling caste was the military command. The Knights ruled the country bureaucratically, and each of their castles formed an administrative center. They were not merely government officials and judges but at the same time agricultural entrepreneurs, bankers, and merchants. The collapse of the unique political and economic structure built by the Teutonic Order⁴ in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was primarily the result of its aggressive foreign policy. This policy had furnished the impetus to the Slav reaction of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which found expression in the Hussite movement, the dynastic union of Poland and Lithuania, and the "Golden Age" of Poland under the Jagellon kings. It had intensified the internal disintegration of the Order, which was manifested in feuds among its members and acts of disloyalty and treason culminating in a series of "palace revolutions" during the 1430's and 1440's. But it also had laid the ground for the revolt of the subject population through the Confederation of 1440, which cemented the alliance of the frustrated country nobility (estate owners) of Prussia with the Prussian cities. The organized forces of the opposition to the Knights claimed the right of co-government and of resistance to oppression, and insisted on the pursuit of a policy of conciliation toward Poland. The series of wars, invasions, and devastations that had set in by 1409 and reached

⁴ Alexander Klein, *Die zentrale Finanzverwaltung im Deutschordensstaate Preussen am Anfang des XV. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1904); Karol Górski, "The Monastic States on the Coasts of the Baltic," *Baltic and Scandinavian Countries*, III (Gydnia, 1937), 43-50. An outline of the Nazi myths of the Teutonic Knights in Alfred Rosenberg, *Der deutsche Ordensstaat* (Munich, 1934).

their peak in the terrible Thirteen Years' War of 1454-66, when the Order had to fight its own country nobles and towns as well as the Poles and their mercenaries, led to the loss of Samogitia, Kulm, Ermeland, and Pomerellen or West Prussia, including the most highly developed agricultural areas and the commercial centers of Danzig, Elbing, and Thorn. Defeat in war and civil rebellion, accompanied and followed by long-run economic depression and fiscal maladjustment, broke the Order but made the Junkers.

After 1331, in preparation for the first war against Poland, the Order had begun to rely in its military campaigns continuously and more extensively on the services of hired mercenaries. The payment of fixed salaries to professionals on contract was complemented by a new device which acquired considerable significance after 1382, again in anticipation of war. The Order commenced to employ part of its accumulated cash to subsidize prospective allies and to extend large long-term loans to the dukes of Pomerania-Stettin and Pomerania-Wolgast and to other military entrepreneurs upon the promise of active support in war.⁵ The borrowers came from the country nobility of Pomerania and the New Mark. Among them were members of families like the Blanckenburgs, Bonins, von der Goltzes, Manteuffels, Podewils, and Wedels, whose descendants were to play a prominent part in Prusso-German history far into the nineteenth century. When called upon in 1410 to pay their debts by facing the possibility of death, many of the hired fighters turned into political snipers. By this time a full third of the fighting power of the Order consisted of mercenaries recruited from all parts of Germany and also from Bohemia and Moravia.

Entering the war in 1409 with meager liquid resources and, after the catastrophe of Tannenberg in 1410, confronted with treachery and a widespread debtors' strike, the financial power of the Order began to crumble. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Order had been the main beneficiary of the vigorous economic expansion of Prussia. During the fifteenth century it had to fight a losing battle against persistent contraction and chronic instability, aggravated by a long-term process of currency depreciation. Neither intermittent recovery, really notable only during the 1440's and toward the end of the century, nor colonization with primarily Polish immigrants of the "Wilderness," including the area of the Mazurian lakes, was strong enough to break up the secular trend toward economic retrogression. The gains were not important enough to replace the immense and irreparable losses in territory, productive power, and life suffered under the

⁵ E. Kutowski, *Zur Geschichte der Söldner in den Heeren des Deutschordensstaates in Preussen* (Osterode, 1912), pp. 14-29.

impact of war.⁶ Expenditures continued to rise, while the total revenues of the Order declined, despite the increase in public taxation and fiscal extortion which furnished a major cause for the civil rebellion of the 1450's and 1460's. For the release of the Knights and *condottieri* taken prisoners in the battle of Tannenberg the Order had to pay a ransom of four and a half million marks of silver. Large sums had to be spent on diplomatic and political missions in the attempt to secure powerful allies and better peace terms. Most important of all, the necessity of maintaining, over a period of two generations, a state of almost perpetual preparedness for war led to a steep increase in indebtedness and to the alienation of capital assets. Forced to rely primarily on the employment of mercenaries, the Order faced an irresistible inflation of military costs which generated fiscal dislocation and which gained in momentum under the pressure of the currency situation.⁷ The scope and the long duration of warfare, ending with the wasteful and in the circumstances utterly senseless war of 1519,⁸ had a profound effect on the balance of land-ownership and on the formation of the Junker class in Prussia.⁹

Numerous methods were employed in the acquisition of land and of "public" rights in conformity with the principle that "war pays." The process itself had set in after 1410 but made little headway until the middle of the century. During this period the Order, on the whole, was still able to satisfy in cash and, to a lesser extent, in promissory notes the claims of its mercenaries. From the 1450's onward the more fortunate *condottieri* and their subcontractors in the employ of the Order¹⁰ were compensated by land grants, or, as before, continued in accordance with the detailed stipulations of their contracts to secure payment in money for their services and the loss or destruction of military equipment. In certain cases the fraudulent presentation of claims for damages was successful, and sums so obtained and augmented by loot added to potential purchasing power for land. From among the war profiteers with liquid assets came the chief buyers of the domains

⁶ Statistical illustrations in Gustav Aubin, *Zur Geschichte des gutsherrlich-bäuerlichen Verhältnisses in Ostpreussen* (Leipzig, 1910), pp. 69-75; K. Riel, "Die Siedlungstätigkeit des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen, 1410-1466," *Altpreussische Forschungen*, XIV (1937), 224-67.

⁷ While the Order in 1410 paid 10-12 mk per "lance," the smallest military unit consisting of three armored men on horseback, by 1450 it had to pay 16 mk. See Johannes B. Voigt, *Namen-Codex der Deutschen Ordens-Beamten . . . Kreuzfahrer und Söldner-Hauptleute in Preussen* (Königsberg, 1843), pp. xxi, xxiv. The silver value of the Prussian mark had fallen from 12 mk in 1410 to 8.50 mk in 1450. It continued to decline steadily until 1489, when it was reduced to 2.50 mk. Aubin, p. 118.

⁸ *Akten der Ständetage Preussens unter der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens*, ed. Max Toeppen, V (Leipzig, 1886), 802.

⁹ Membership in the Teutonic Order gradually dwindled from about one thousand to three hundred Knights at the time of the Thirteen Years' War. *Id.*, "Der Deutsche Ritterorden und die Stände Preussens," *Hist. Zeitsch.*, XLVI (1881), 433.

¹⁰ For the period 1410-66 their names are listed in Voigt, pp. 119-32.

and the attached "public" rights over native serfs, free German peasants and Prussian freemen, whom the Order, especially during the years 1468-70, offered for sale. It was forced to do so to meet its most pressing debts and to get rid of bands of marauding troops who had become the terror of city and countryside alike and indulged in guerrilla warfare among themselves. Under the duress of war the Order had secured credit or military support only by using landed estates, castles, villages, and country towns as collateral. The default of the Order frequently resulted in permanent alienation of its lands to the original creditors or to speculators who had bought up their claims.¹¹ The first large-scale transaction of this kind, which made the ultimate outcome of the 'Thirteen Years' War almost a foregone conclusion, occurred when, in 1456, the Order was unable to meet the accumulated back pay of its German and Czech mercenaries. At this crucial moment the Czech *condottieri* banded together and sold to the king of Poland for 436,000 fl. the fortified strategic points of Marienburg, Dirschau, Deutsch-Eylau, Konitz, Friedland, and Hammerstein, which they held.¹² While fortunes made in war often went into land, there remained unsatisfied creditors who had declared their independence and used the armed forces at their disposal to organize private wars of their own for the purpose of creating fortunes in land. Through arbitrary seizures and acts of usurpation many private estates came into existence or grew in size.

II

Accompanying the shift in landownership was, as indicated, a change in the composition, the stratification, and the functional role of the Prussian Junker class. The noble landlords of Brandenburg and Pomerania, largely of non-German origin, had become thoroughly Germanized by peaceful amalgamation and rapid assimilation, which went with German immigration and advancing colonization.¹³ In the vast dominions under the overlordship of the Teutonic Knights the core of the estate-owning class continued throughout the fourteenth century to consist of native Baltic and Slav elements. Though temporarily favored by the short-lived policy of exterminating those who had opposed Teutonic expansion during the bloody Prussian rebellion of the mid-thirteenth century, the German knights from Westphalia, Thuringia, and Franconia retained the character of a thin veneer.

¹¹ Concrete illustrations in *id.*, pp. xxii-xxvi, and in Christian Krollmann, *Politische Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen* (Königsberg, 1932), pp. 161 f.

¹² *Akten der Ständetage*, IV (1884), 619-31.

¹³ F. L. Carsten, "Slavs in North-Eastern Germany," *Economic History Review*, XI (1941), 64 ff.

Native Prussian, Lithuanian, Pomeranian, and Polish noblemen and "free-men" had been confirmed in their lands or, like German knights, had been established as hereditary holders of moderately sized estates, which, as a rule, were larger than the estates held by knight service (*Rittergüter*) in Brandenburg but rarely exceeded two thousand acres.¹⁴ If they had possessed delegated jurisdictional rights, they usually had developed into founders of new or restorers of old peasant villages populated by native serfs. Most of the newly settled rural communities, especially those occupied by German immigrants, remained directly subject to the Order and its affiliated ecclesiastical bodies.

The majority of this economic middle class of squires, heterogeneous in regard to culture, language, and genealogy, perished before the close of the fifteenth century on the field of battle and in atrocity raids. While old families were destroyed, new families were created. The remnants of the old settlers of noble background¹⁵ lost, retained, or even extended their privileged position, after having merged with the numerically stronger immigrants of similar social rank. The new Junker class that came into being was predominantly German in origin but gained rapidly in ethnic complexity by marrying native Polish, Pomeranian, and Germanized Prussian women of noble birth. Fusion was intensified by immigration from Bohemia and Silesia and, above all, Poland. The acquisition of West Prussia by Poland in 1466 inaugurated a long-run influx of members of the Polish landed gentry (*szlachta*), some of whom developed into large landed proprietors, although the great majority had to be content with a petty economic existence. It also resulted in a rapid Polonization of numerous German families. This was the time when the Oppens, Huttens, Falkens, Götzendorfs, Dameraus, Glauchs, and Schleinitzes turned into Bronokowskis, Chapskis, Placheckis, Grabowskis, Dombrowskis, Gluchawskis, and Pleminskis. They were followed by members of the Blanckenburg, Borck, Kleist, Manteuffel, Sacken, and Unruh families, who adjusted themselves to the change in environment by accepting officers' positions in the Polish army.¹⁶

¹⁴ In newly occupied frontier regions the Order often made much larger land grants to knightly or burghess capitalists and land promoters. See Hans Plehn, *Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preussischen Geschichte*, XVII (1904), 391 f.; Eva Brunner *Schlochau Entstehung und Entwicklung einer Verwaltungs- und Wirtschaftseinheit* (Leipzig, 1939), pp. 4 f.; *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, I (Cambridge, 1942), 373.

¹⁵ The gradual extinction of many of these native families, insofar as they preserved a coat of arms during the subsequent centuries, is traced in Johann Sibmacher, *Grosses und Allgemeines Wappenbuch*, VI, part IV (Nürnberg, 1874): "Abgestorbener Preussischer Adel"; see also part V (1880): "Der abgestorbene Adel der Provinz und Mark Brandenburg."

¹⁶ A complete list of the German and Polish members of the West Prussian nobility as of 1775, with indications of their status as landowners and public functionaries, in *Publikationen aus den K. Preussischen Staatsarchiven*, LXXXIV (1909), 737-78. The German cultural reaction to Polonization set in with the annexation of West Prussia by Frederick the Great. It asserted itself primarily through education in the military academy at Kulm and through service in the Prussian army. *Ibid.*, LXXXIII (1909), 375.

The newly established immigrant landowners of both West and East Prussia assimilated a second indigenous element, the *locatores*, who had made their appearance with the eastward push of German colonization and to some extent, at least, had filled the gap created by the partial extinction of the old native nobility in possession of large estates. In all East Elbian territories the *locatores* started out as land agents in charge of attracting pioneers and of organizing village communities. On behalf of the territorial ruler or the colonizing lord they also exercised administrative and judicial authority over the local population. In economic society they formed, together with most of the Prussian Freemen, a semi-privileged group, half squire and half peasant. These men had sprung from varied classes. Among them were peasants and burgesses, but also knights, and these last helped to confer social distinction on the group as a whole. From the ranks of this group rose daring and adaptable individuals who, in the fifteenth century, in the more remote frontier regions of the "Wilderness" or in areas subject to the physical ravages of war, had occupied waste lands, or through the seizure of vacant holdings had succeeded in carving out large estates for themselves.

Really powerful and wealthy landed magnates were not to be found prior to the mid-fifteenth century in the Prussian country nobility. Outstanding in numbers and vitality among the "first generation men" who now appeared on the scene were soldiers of fortune, who upon retirement from military service settled down as landowners. Functioning as the vanguard of reorganization in the land system, they anticipated the more universal redistribution of landownership in central Europe, brought about by rich officers who had acquired a fortune during and after the era of the Thirty Years' War as managers of and investors and speculators in companies and regiments. Among the more prominent families with a background of professional military service who became definitely established on Prussian soil after the 1450's appeared many names well known in modern German history: Dobeneck, Dohna, Egloffstein, Eulenburg, Falkenhayn, Haugwitz, Kanitz, Kittlitz, Lossow, Polentz, Reibnitz, Sack, Schlieben, Tettau.¹⁷ A second wave of adventurous immigrants reached the country between 1480 and 1525, attracted by the low price of land and the opportunity of fishing in troubled waters.¹⁸ Some of the newcomers, like the Dohnas, Eulenburgs, Kreytzens, Oelsnitzes, Polentzes, Schliebens, Tettaus, and Wallenrods, started out as owners of vast domains with sovereign rights over numerous villages and even country towns (*Mediatstädte*), and thus presented them-

¹⁷ A much more extensive list in *Diplomatarium Ilebursense*, ed. Georg A. v. Mülverstedt, II (Magdeburg, 1879), 850.

¹⁸ Their names, *ibid.*, pp. 851 f.

selves as powerful figures. They usually resided in large castles which formerly had belonged to the Order. With regard to economic pre-eminence, social prestige, and political influence these new family dynasties had their counterpart in fifteenth century Brandenburg in the members of the "castle-residing nobility."¹⁹

The appearance of an upper stratum of large-scale landowners in Prussia accentuated economic inequalities within the Junker class, alongside the crystallization of a more clean-cut line of demarcation based on origin, which assumed social and constitutional rather than economic significance. Superior social rank and an exclusive and privileged position in politics were claimed by the Dohnas, Eulenburgs, Heydecks, Kittlitzes, Ploths, Putlitzes, Schenk von Tautenburgs, Torgaus, and Truchsess von Waldburgs.²⁰ They could trace their lineage back to the old *nobiles* who had assumed the character of an upper nobility (*Herrenstand*), in contrast to the far more numerous knights who descended from the *ministeriales*, originally unfree household officials of princes and great magnates, who from the thirteenth century onward had gradually developed into the lower nobility (*Ritterschaft*).²¹

While in Prussia the personnel of the landowning Junker class changed notably, owing to the settlement of former German military entrepreneurs and their satellites and relatives in competition with Polish immigrants, newcomers of noble origin in the electorate of Brandenburg found an opportunity to get permanently established as court officials and public functionaries. Gaining a foothold against the protests of the jealous native nobility, they usually became an amalgamated part of it, once they had secured possession of landed estates. The smooth transition from public office to private estate-holding, however, became more and more exceptional after the late seventeenth century. After the Hohenzollerns had taken over the Kurmark, repeated attempts were made to check the political and administrative ascendancy of the entrenched squirearchy by enlisting the services of landless "foreigners." In accordance with European usage, appointment to a public office, as a rule, was looked upon by migratory adventurers as well as by members of the settled indigenous nobility as a lucky chance. It implied the expectation of furnishing the springboard for the making of an individual fortune and, quite frequently, for the acquisition of a landed estate by grant,

¹⁹ *Codex Diplomaticus Alvenslebenianus*, ed. *id.*, I (1879), 630 f.; S. Isaacsohn, *Geschichte des Preussischen Beamtentums*, I (Berlin, 1874), 103, 171 ff.

²⁰ *Diplomatarium Heburgense*, II, 839 f.; Hugo Rachel, *Der Grosse Kurfürst und die ostpreussischen Stände, 1640-1688* (Leipzig, 1905), p. 69.

²¹ See Richard Schröder, *Lehrbuch der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte* (6th ed., Leipzig, 1919), pp. 469-83, especially 478 ff.; Aloys Meister, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte von den Anfängen bis ins 15. Jahrhundert* (3rd ed., Leipzig, 1922), pp. 127-31.

purchase, or speculation. Thus, for instance, under Joachim II (1535-71), after many years of court life and administrative activity on a salaried basis, immigrants like Adam von Trott, Gottfried von Canitz, and Wolf von Closter were compensated for their services with large land grants.²² Previous to the emergence of the standing army (*miles perpetuus*) it was also customary to transfer land to experienced "colonels," mostly immigrants, in return for military services rendered or to be rendered.²³ The creation of a permanent military machine by the Great Elector, on the other hand, brought into the country a large number of noblemen who had received their training as officers in the campaigns of the Thirty Years' War, frequently as members of the Swedish army.²⁴ By extending credit to the crown or by grant the more fortunate among the newcomers acquired public domains or cashed in on the downswing of the economic curve by buying up land cheaply from bankrupt native Junkers and burgesses.

A small minority of patrician burgher origin, usually quite well-to-do to start with, was found among the upper brackets of the new salaried employees of the Elector's government in Brandenburg. In most cases they were paid a fixed amount in money and in kind, were conceded a share in the more flexible office revenues, and while in office or upon retirement acquired landed estates.²⁵ Qualified by legal training and professional administrative experience, they constituted a social stratum which on the whole, and especially in Prussia, was wanting in the recruitment of the Junker class after the fourteenth century. This absence of the urban burgher element was in sharp contrast with the rise of the English gentry, which was largely replenished by wealthy merchants and professional men, such as the more eminent lawyers and divines.²⁶ From the long-run historical point of view, however, this group of Brandenburg government officials of burgher descent, who maintained close social, economic, and political contacts with leading Junker families, fortified by intermarriage, proved to be of considerable importance. Some of its wealthiest and most prominent members, like Erasmus Seidel, Lampert Distelmeier, and Franz Meinders, laid the foundation for the practice of ennobling deserving officials by letters-patent (*Briefadel*).²⁷ It should be noted, however, that these social upstarts and their descendants, who often

²² Martin Hass, *Die Hofordnung Kurfürst Joachims II. von Brandenburg* (Berlin, 1910), pp. 152-56, 186 f.

²³ Names and dates in Isaacsohn, I, 278 f.

²⁴ Kurt Breysig and Fritz Wolters, *Geschichte der brandenburgischen Finanzen, 1640-1697* (Munich and Leipzig, 1895-1915), II, 8.

²⁵ For details see Hass, pp. 202-16.

²⁶ R. H. Tawney, "The Rise of the Gentry, 1558-1640," *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, XI, 4, 18; John U. Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry* (London, 1932), II, 1-43.

²⁷ Most informative details in Hugo Rachel, Johannes Papritz, and Paul Wallich, *Berliner Grosskaufleute und Kapitalisten*, I (Berlin, 1934), 298-304; II (1938), 106 f.

held the same or similar administrative positions without acquiring a title of nobility, were gradually absorbed and assimilated by the Junker oligarchy. Contrary to French, Austrian, and Russian developments they formed up to the early eighteenth century an unimportant percentage of the membership of the office aristocracy as well as of the squirearchy. Even without a patent of nobility, in their capacity as owners of knights' estates (*Rittergüter*) they enjoyed social and political equality with the lower nobility. In the diets they appeared as regular members of the estate of the lower landed nobility (*Ritterschaft*), but they were rarely elected to its standing committees.²⁸

The transformation of public agents into independent landlords had its counterpart in West Prussia in the officials who, after 1466, on behalf of the Polish crown administered or managed, frequently in a hereditary capacity, the former domain of the Teutonic Order.²⁹ In the course of time many of these administrators acquired the status of alodial owners, after having become creditors of the crown for amounts ranging from 10,000 to 100,000 tlr.³⁰ In East Prussia, on the other hand, it was the liquidation of the Order as a corporate ruler and landowner in 1525 which provided the occasion for the final economic and political emancipation of its former members. In exchange for consenting to the formation of the duchy of Prussia they obtained the grant of life tenure in their offices, together with the confirmation of full jurisdictional and patronage rights over a large part of the still huge public domain.³¹ Bonds of intermarriage subsequently strengthened the existing ties of kinship to Junker families who had settled down in Prussia during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The surviving Teutonic Knights, small in numbers but individually powerful by virtue of administrative, political, and diplomatic experience and familiarity with the local scene and still enjoying the control and usufruct of large units of landed wealth, submitted to their incorporation in the Junker class under the pressure of necessity. But within the newly formed social body struggling for an *esprit de corps* they kept alive the tradition of the Teutonic Order to function as a selfish corporation in the stubborn defense of its privileges and vested interests.

²⁸ See the membership lists in *Acta Brandenburgica*, ed. M. Klinkenberg, I (Berlin, 1927), 349; Helmuth Croon, *Die kurmärkischen Landstände 1571-1616* (Berlin, 1938), pp. 209-13.

²⁹ Stanislaw Kutrzeba, *Grundriss der Polnischen Verfassungsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1912), pp. 113, 116.

³⁰ When Frederick the Great ordered the "nationalization" of parts of the former crown estates in West Prussia, the private investments previously made were, to some extent, acknowledged in form of indemnity payments. The von der Goltz family secured on this occasion, in 1773-74, the largest share, amounting to 94,000 tlr. See Max Bär, *Westpreussen unter Friedrich dem Grossen* (Leipzig, 1909), I, 268 ff.; II, 265.

³¹ *Acta Borussica, Behördenorganisation*, I, 50; Aubin, p. 111; Heinrich Schweichler, *Das Domänenwesen unter Herzog Albrecht in Preussen, 1525-1568* (1911), pp. 12 ff.

III

With its emergence as the principal landowning class Junkerdom had gained a strategic position of paramount importance in economic society. The victory constituted an essential cause as well as an effect of drastic changes in the structure of government and in the form of political and administrative organization. Though varying in expression and in intensity, the same trend toward domination of political society and of the organs of state by the squires claiming semi-sovereign rights asserted itself in all the major eastern territories during the fifteenth, the sixteenth, and at least part of the seventeenth centuries: in Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, Silesia, Brandenburg, Pomerania, Poland, Prussia, and to a lesser degree in Lower and Upper Austria.³²

The vastness of the eastern state dominions, the inadequate lines of communication, and the lack outside of Prussia of a dependable personnel of experts necessitated from the outset of German colonization a system of administrative decentralization in areas settled by a private landlord (*Grundherr*). As a rule, jurisdictional lordship (*Gerichtsherrschaft*) in its more limited form, *i.e.*, the functions of purely local public administration and of jurisdiction, had been delegated to a private landlord as an executive of the central government in communities and districts not directly subject to the central ruler in his capacity of owner of the public domain. In the states of the Teutonic Order leadership in politics and in the determination of policies had been concentrated in the central government, which entrusted the job of policy enforcement to a hierarchy of member Knights, acting as state officials and, originally, accountable to the central government. The owners of manorial estates (*Grundherrschaften*) had been vested merely with the limited authority embodied in local *Gerichtsherrschaft*. The system had remained fairly intact until 1410, except for the leading cities, which even in regard to their foreign policy had acquired rights of self-government. In Brandenburg and in other East Elbian territories, however, the pressure

³² As to these developments and as to some of the concepts applied in the text, see Georg v. Below, *Territorium und Stadt* (Munich and Berlin, 1900); Friedrich Tezner, *Technik und Geist des ständisch-monarchischen Staatsrechts* (Leipzig, 1901); Hans Spangenberg, *Vom Lehnstaat zum Ständestaat* (Munich and Berlin, 1912); Otto Hintze, "Wesen und Verbreitung des Feudalismus," *Sitzungsberichte der Preuss. Akademie der Wiss. Phil.-histor. Klasse* (1929), pp. 321-47; *id.*, "Typologie der ständischen Verfassungen," *Hist. Zeitsch.*, CXLI (1929), 229-48; *id.*, "Weltgeschichtliche Bedingungen der Repräsentativverfassung," *ibid.*, CXLIII (1930), 1-47; Otto Hötzsch, "Adel und Lehnswesen in Russland und Polen und ihr Verhältnis zur deutschen Entwicklung," *ibid.*, CVIII (1912), 541-92; Alexander Marcuse, *Die Repräsentativverfassung in Europa bis zum Durchbruch des Absolutismus* (Berlin, 1935); Josef Redlich, *Das Oesterreichische Staats- und Reichsproblem*, I (Leipzig, 1920); Charles H. McIlwain, "Medieval Estates," *Cambridge Medieval History*, VII (1932), 664-715; *id.*, *Constitutionalism and the Changing World* (New York, 1939); Fritz Kern, *Kingship and Law in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1939).

brought to bear on the ruling families by political crises, dynastic rivalries, military necessities, and fiscal stringency had led after the thirteenth century to the piecemeal acquisition of various immunities and princely prerogatives (*regalia*). Thus, through the withdrawal of certain individuals or groups from central control, the decentralization of *administration* had assumed the character of administrative, judicial, and political autonomy. The foundation had been laid for the decentralization of *government* and for the disintegration of both the authority and the might of the central ruler. The transformation of "public" rights into "private" possessions by purchase, donation, or usurpation had been the work of country nobles, ecclesiastical bodies, and municipalities. Their gradual crystallization into separate estates, thinking and acting collectively and effectively claiming the right of checking the authority, the policies, and the conduct of the government of the central ruler, marked the dawn of what has been called in German constitutional history since Gierke the era of the dual government of the prince and the estates (*dualistischer Ständestaat*).

The new constitutional pattern was the institutional outgrowth of the redistribution of political power through the diffusion and limitation of what in modern terms might be called territorial state sovereignty. Its nucleus consisted in the gradual feudalization of the territory of the state. The territorial range of the authority of the central government was greatly curtailed by dividing and subdividing sovereignty, not on functional lines but in accordance with its objects, land and people. It broke up the state into sections, each in regard to both internal government and public administration, practically independent of all the rest, and, within its boundaries, of all coercive control. Public prerogatives had become an integral part of subjective agrarian property rights. The principle of the state as family and property had made "office" an appendage of the land and the patrimonial holding of the vassal, lessee, or alodial owner, while those living under his jurisdiction had become his "subjects," assuming the character of taxable assets attached to the land. "Public" rights over towns, villages, and tracts of land, consisting in rights to rents, dues, fees, taxes, and *corvées*, had changed into transferable personal property, bought and sold with the land and its inhabitants like any other economic commodity or service. The wealthy landholding families among the Junkers had pushed the process to its logical consequence. Residing in fortified castles, they ultimately formed states within the state. Equipped with full jurisdiction and police power over large dominions, including country towns, they maintained private armies and a body of administrative officials completely out of the reach of the central ruler. The small squires imitated

the pattern by functioning on a pettier local scale as self-employing "public" administrators and appropriators of state rights. Thus, in conjunction with the redistribution of the landed wealth, the contraction of the authority and power of the central government, both quantitatively and qualitatively, had assumed amazing proportions, most noticeable in fifteenth century Prussia because of the suddenness of the changes there. Junker dominance over the "private" domain (*domanium*) of the *Grundherrschaft*, after it had acquired in actuality and in legal status the character of patrimonial dominion (*dominium*), ultimately made the territory of the state (*dominium*) almost coincide with the "public" domain (*domanium*), i.e., the landed possessions of the ruler who enjoyed superiority but not supremacy.

The East Elbian *Ständestaat* which took definite shape during the fifteenth century was a strictly territorial association. The modern idea of a single state-personality was lacking. The *Ständestaat* functioned through the dualism of two separate legal personalities, the estates (*Landstände*) and the ruler. Its formative principle was the amalgamation of landed property rights, individual or corporate, with subjective public rights upon the basis of representative estates. The collective bodies of the politically privileged groups formed a kind of community in or above the commonwealth. They "represented" the territory against the ruler. Called into session to assist the head of the state in the pursuit of territorial policies by rendering voluntary financial, political, and military support, they actually tended to resist by pressing forward private interests and rights through the limitation of the authority of the ruler. His prerogatives were treated like other "private" privileges and were to be confined to his domains and *regalia*, while the rest of the land, the remaining material resources, and the larger part of the population of the territory were under the direct control of the estates. Authority over the territory as a whole was divided on dualistic lines, with two different spheres of state activity and two different sets of territorial institutions, most conspicuous and, practically, most important in the realm of territorial finance.³³ The financial apparatus of the prince formed part of his central government and of his territorial administration. It was concerned with making the crown domain and the regalian rights pay. The revenues collected had to meet the ordinary expenditures of the court and to reward its officials, who often also served as members of the closely affiliated and, in Brandenburg up to Joachim II's reign, actually identical central government and the territorial administration of the ruler. The financial boards and committees of the estates, on the other

³³ Illustrations in Gustav Schmoller, *Umriss und Untersuchungen zur Verfassungs-, Verwaltungs- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1898), pp. 135 ff.; Otto Hintze, *Die Hohenzollern und ihr Werk* (8th ed., Berlin, 1916), p. 146.

hand, were in charge of the assessment, collection, and administration of "public" taxes, levied on land and people not belonging to the crown domain and set aside for the purpose of meeting "extraordinary" expenditures and, above all, of guaranteeing interest payment on the funded debt of the prince.

The ruler's chronic dependence on the donations and the good will of the estates transformed their constitutional right of making voluntary grants from case to case, generally after elaborate negotiations, into an actual power of exerting strong influence on territorial legislation and on questions of policy. In Prussia, where under Polish influences the ultimate political power of the estates was greater and lasted longer than in the different territories which together formed the Kurmark of Brandenburg, the first general diet of all the estates had met in 1411. By 1432 they advanced the claim to make financial impositions, the entrance into a state of war, and treaties of alliances dependent on their consent in consequence of their right of resistance to oppression. In all East Elbian territories bargaining about financial subsidies used to be intertwined with legislative initiative in the form of the drawing up of long lists of grievances (*gravamina*). Requests voiced on those occasions covered a wide field. Legislative enactments were asked for with reference to the territorial regulation of the domestic and the export trade, of the system of river transportation, of the economic activities and the legal rights of the various occupational groups, especially of the laborers, of the delimitation of the organs of government and of their competence, of patronage rights, of the social recruitment of public officials and of holders of ecclesiastical benefices, and of the allocation of fiscal burdens.³⁴ Though disrupted by internal disharmonies and antagonisms, each estate acted in accordance with the principle of protecting the individual rights of its members against the encroachments of the ruler and of the other estates. Whatever their largely undetermined constitutional rights, in action each estate pursued the goal of securing a more definitive confirmation by statutory law of corporate privileges already secured *de facto*, and of solidifying and extending its economic and social interests by extorting additional political concessions, constitutional liberties, and administrative prerogatives.

This fluctuating secular struggle for political and economic power dominated the inner life of East Elbian state territories up to the middle of the seventeenth century. From the outset, while there were factional strife and numerous outbursts of jealousy and personal animosity among the individual

³⁴ Detailed descriptive accounts in Georg Küntzel, "Ueber Ständetum und Fürstentum, vornnehmlich Preussens, im 17. Jahrhundert," in *Beiträge zur brandenburgischen und preussischen Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1908), pp. 101-52; Walter Schotte, *Fürstentum und Stände in der Mark Brandenburg unter der Regierung Joachims I.* (Leipzig, 1911); Martin Hass, *Die kurmärkischen Stände im letzten Drittel des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Munich and Leipzig, 1913); Croon, *op. cit.*; Rachel, *Der Grosse Kurfürst*.

members of each estate, with plenty of dirty linen washed in public, the Junkers' collective fight for political supremacy and administrative monopoly was directed against two fronts: against the authority and the claims of the Hohenzollern rulers and against the rivalry of the burgesses of the independent municipalities (*Immediatstädte*) who formed the representation of the "Third Estate." The "Upper Estates" of the higher nobility (*Herrenstand*) and the lower nobility (*Ritterschaft*) gradually gained ascendancy over both contestants through a series of shifting tactical alliances with one of the two against the other. The peak of their power in dominating territorial state politics, in virtually determining state policies, in developing a system of exclusive class privileges, and in making territorial state administration their preserve coincided with the period of the Price Revolution, which also meant a height in their economic prosperity.

By the middle of the sixteenth century an ultimate solution was reached in regard to the cleavage within the "Upper Estates," which at times had weakened their aggregate power to exert political pressure. By sheer weight of numbers the lesser nobility had gained the upper hand over the small upper nobility of dynastic lineage. Though the *Herrenstand* as a corporate body failed to secure the political leadership over the Junker class as a whole, in close alliance with the wealthiest and socially more prominent members of the *Ritterschaft* it continued to furnish the personnel for the upper brackets of the office aristocracy. Thus distinguished for centuries were, for example, the Edlen Schenken, the Schulenburgs, Alvenslebens, and Bartenslebens in the Old Mark; the Putlitzes and Rohrs in Priegnitz; the Bredows and Arnims in the Middle and Ucker Mark; the Wedels, Borcks, and Ostens in the New Mark; the Heydecks, Finck v. Finckensteins, Kreytzens, Ostaus, Polentzes, Schliebens, Tettaus, and Wallenrodts in East Prussia. In each territory the leading landowning families were virtually the hereditary possessors of the more lucrative sinecures of territorial administration.³⁵ Frequently functioning also as court officials and councilors of the prince's central administration,³⁶ their conquests were made more complete by the acquisition of superiority in the management of the crown lands. They shared, however, the spoils of public office-holding with the larger horde of place hunters who came from the lesser Junker families. Among them rotated the numerous minor posts connected with territorial administration and the supervision of the public domains.

The persistent struggle for the *Indigenat*, i.e., for the legal codification of

³⁵ For details see Isaacsohn, I, 96, 115 f., 173; II, 13; Rachel, *Der Grosse Kurfürst*, p. 75; *Codex Diplomaticus Alvenslebenianus*, II, 562 ff.; III, 557 ff.

³⁶ See Hintze, *Historische und Politische Aufsätze*, III, 31 f.; Hass, *Hofordnung*, p. 184; Isaacsohn, *passim*.

the well-established practice of appointing only members of the indigenous nobility to the more significant state offices, was practically decided in favor of the Junkers around the middle of the sixteenth century. The victory was most complete in East Prussia, where by 1566 the Junkers had succeeded in obtaining the right of appeal to the Polish crown in case of conflict with the duke. The noble classes had thus reached the point of identifying themselves with the state, functioning as government and administration. Individually they were firmly entrenched as sovereign public administrators and appropriators of state rights within the sphere of the manorial estate. Collectively, through the representative bodies of the Upper Estates, they had established themselves as co-owners of territorial sovereignty, serving as co-regents of territorial government and monopolists of territorial administration. They furnished the personnel of the court, they were dominant in the councils of the central dynastic government, and they captured the district and local offices in charge of the administration and management of the crown lands and crown *regalia*. Thus they found themselves in possession of the usufruct of the largest part of the economy of the dynastic state, since the official power entrusted to commissioned administrators continued to be exercised as a species of private authority and private enterprise.

The outright sale of crown estates and legal titles to crown revenues had become rare in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But the process of their alienation, which had set in in Brandenburg by the thirteenth century and in Prussia by the fifteenth, remained in full swing up to the latter part of the reign of the Great Elector. It received decisive impetus from the growing indebtedness of the Hohenzollerns, only temporarily halted under Albrecht Achilles (1470-86) and Joachim I (1499-1535). The chronic dislocation of public finance, so far as it advantageously affected the Junkers, manifested itself in a multitude of forms. The proprietary conception of public office-holding, which rested on the amalgamation of "private" and "public" rights, remained prevalent throughout the era of the *Ständestaat*. Because of widespread corruption, dismissal on account of fraudulent administration was an unknown phenomenon in fifteenth century Brandenburg.³⁷ No wonder, therefore, that the method of rounding off a private estate through the arbitrary seizure of pieces of "public" land by, or with the toleration of, the administrator in charge retained its practical effectiveness. Probably more important was the traditional practice of the embezzlement of rents, dues, and fees collected on behalf of the crown, or of transforming the management of a crown demesne or forest into an instrument for organizing a private trade in grain or timber. Despite the high level of agricultural com-

³⁷ *Id.*, I, 58.

modity prices during the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries, the money yield of the public domains, insofar as it ultimately reached the crown treasury, declined steeply, and during the first half of his reign even the Great Elector was unable to check the decline.³⁸ Dwindling revenues in the midst of the Price Revolution, combined with the unwillingness of the estates to make adequate grants and with the lack of a system of regular annual taxation for the satisfaction of state needs previous to 1653, generated a public credit inflation which opened up great opportunities for enterprising money lenders, while at the same time it intensified the deflation of the revenues of the public domains.³⁹ Most conspicuous among the creditors of the crown were court officials, councilors, members of the wealthy country nobility, and, after the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, military entrepreneurs.⁴⁰

Common to most European countries was the method of paying for long-term credit by the farming out of more lucrative government posts, especially sinecures, and of specified sources of revenue like customs duties and river tolls, or by the appointment of creditors to profitable offices with the right to the private appropriation of the total office income, either for a few years or for life. Quite typical was the case of Hans and Christoph v. Kreytzen, Hans v. Wittmannsdorf, and Hans Truchsess v. Waldburg, the first three being close relatives, who in their capacity of chief creditors of Albrecht von Hohenzollern managed to secure appointment to the leading court offices and, while in power, extorted large land grants from the duke.⁴¹ Most significant, however, was the reversion of crown estates and former church lands as security to large-scale creditors, many of whom had previously grown fat by virtue of office-holding. This device, more than any other, altered the balance between the Junkers and the Hohenzollerns in both Brandenburg and Prussia with regard to the distribution of landed wealth in favor of the Junker class. Transactions of this kind were not only very numerous but also large in scale. Single deals made by individuals sometimes reached 50,000 tlr., and on one occasion the corporate *Ritterschaft* of the Old and Middle Mark took possession of various estates upon payment of 210,000 tlr.⁴² By 1620 the total debt based on the crown lands of Brandenburg alone as collateral had mounted to more than two million tlr.

³⁸ *Urkunden und Aktenstücke zur Geschichte des Kurfürsten Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg*, XV (1892), 52; Breysig and Wolters, I, 239-43; Schmoller, pp. 124-39; Rachel, *Der Grosse Kurfürst*, p. 194.

³⁹ In 1648 in East Prussia, 48,354 *Hufen* owned by the crown yielded the ridiculously small amount of 5,940 tlr. for the treasury. Even in 1688-89 the total net revenue of the vast forests owned by the Great Elector yielded only 7,000 tlr.

⁴⁰ Breysig and Wolters, I, 234 f.; II, 328 f.; Hass, *Hofordnung*, pp. 160-68; Rachel and Wallich, II, (1938), 102-108; Isaacsohn, I, 58 f., 124.

⁴¹ *Urkunden und Aktenstücke*, XV, 47.

⁴² Schmoller, p. 140; Breysig and Wolters, I, 234 ff.; K. Breysig, "Der brandenburgische Staatshaushalt in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Schmollers Jahrbuch*, XVI (1892), 11

The pawning of estates and of offices connected with the administration of the public domain only in rare cases had the character of a mortgage, which indemnified the creditor with a fixed rate of interest while the management remained in the hands of the debtor. As a rule the alienation was complete and, as to duration, temporary to start with but frequently permanent and hereditary upon the default of the debtor or by grant in exchange for additional credit. The payment of debts in form of land, especially demesnes, was obviously most profitable to the lender in the era of the Price Revolution. The prevalent system of credit creation through the pledging of crown estates and the turning over of their management as security to the creditor based the contraction and repayment of loans on a combination of money economy and natural economy. From the lender's viewpoint the demand for "public" credit opened up the chance of making capital reproduce itself at an exceptionally high rate through the medium of speculative investments in land. The cash received by the borrower usually was far below the real capital value of the pawned assets. The margin tended to widen on account of the continuous upward trend of the price of land and of agricultural commodities. The creditor, therefore, was indemnified with an exorbitant and flexible economic rent which, while in possession of the security, could be further increased by more efficient utilization or ruthless exploitation. Only the persistence of acute fiscal maladjustment and the restricted character of the capital market, which in consequence of the economic decline of the cities and burgesses had become increasingly subject to the influence of the large landowners and the higher government officials, forced the Hohenzollerns to resort again and again to this method. It was the chief device used to secure more considerable sums upon short notice. In this respect the financing of the state was similar to the contemporary English system of turning large tracts of crown lands into prompt and substantial payments.⁴³

⁴³ See Tawney, pp. 18, 29.

(Continued)

The English Common Law, Barrier Against Absolutism

C. H. McILWAIN*

THE narrow limits of this paper, written for delivery at the meeting of the American Historical Association in 1942, will, I am afraid, make it appear to be little more than a string of dogmatic and miscellaneous unverified propositions, subjects for future research and proof rather than present demonstration. Nevertheless, I am venturing to present this important subject now in the hope that I may be able to suggest some lines of future investigation which in the end may in some instances put the background of our constitutional institutions and ideas on a sounder foundation than the traditional one which we have inherited and may have accepted with too little examination and criticism.

In dogmatic form, some of these propositions follow.

Before the late seventeenth century, when true popular control of our legislative assemblies began, parliament's primary importance is owing not to its representative character but rather to its maintenance against government of the rights of the individual subject which that representative character involved.

If this be true, the principal background of our modern constitutionalism is to be found in the common law in which these rights of individuals are defined and only secondarily in the parliament which maintained them. Too long the historians of the constitution have neglected this factor of private law, forgetting that in the Middle Ages, when these individual rights were taking form, the old Roman and familiar modern distinction between public and private law had an extremely limited application in comparison with our modern one. These constitutional historians have largely ignored, through ignorance or inadvertence, the chief source of the constitutional principle underlying our bills of rights, the original and most fundamental element in our present constitutional system in the United States.

The study that might correct these tendencies must concentrate first on the period of feudalism when the doctrines of our common law were taking definite and permanent shape; secondly, on the period of the Renaissance monarchy, the reigns of the Tudor sovereigns, when the rights defined by

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the common law were threatened by a parliament subjugated by royal will and in danger of abdicating its earlier role of the protector of private rights; thirdly, on the Stuart period, when despotic kings, failing in their attempts to quell the increasing agitation in parliament for the observance of law, turned from the Tudor method of subjugating their parliaments to the even more drastic expedient of complete suppression, either through a refusal to summon a parliament, as tried by Charles I, or the prevention of its sessions by repeated prorogations and dictated adjournments, as employed by Charles II. Next, our study should concentrate on the short interval of representative government which accompanied and followed the "glorious revolution"; and finally, on the growth of a new threat to the old common law and the individual rights it incorporates, in the growing arbitrariness of parliament, especially between 1716 and 1776, which led even the conservative Burke later to say that Englishmen in America who opposed the new parliamentary omnipotence were only defending the same principles asserted earlier by the Convention parliament against James II.

There is a continuity in all this long struggle, and what constitutes this continuity is the common law with its definitions of individual right.

Let us look briefly at some of these periods from this point of view, and at the treatment they have usually received at the hands of the older orthodox constitutional historians, and first, at the formative period of the age of feudalism. What crimes have not been committed in the handling of that important stage of our constitutional development, what crimes are still being perpetrated! Old Dr. Cowell was right when he declared in 1605, no doubt to the horror of Sir Edward Coke, that the English common law was nothing but a mixture of the Roman and the feudal law; but he was as certainly wrong in his assertion that this mixture warranted the arbitrary encroachment on private right which he and his royal master, "the wisest fool in Christendom," were then advocating.

To get straight the beginnings of all this, obviously we must look at this medieval mixture and at the true character of the two elements that formed it, the feudal and the Roman law. It must be confessed that in such an investigation the traditional historians have often been a hindrance rather than a help. For instance, some of them have asserted that feudal institutions in themselves were wholly incompatible with the continuance of the old Anglo-Saxon law, and this led some of the more extreme to deny the fact of an English feudalism altogether. Happily no reputable historian would go so far today, but the old obsession still lingers on in some of the textbooks, and it sometimes goes higher.

The assumption that Anglo-Saxon law could not survive the introduction of feudalism involves a complete failure to grasp the true character of feudalism. For its very essence is a territorial principle which makes the ancient custom of the local community the law of the fief, a principle no less effective if this community happens to be a whole realm. The whole emphasis of feudalism is on the continuity of local immemorial customs, preserved, in the language of the old Roman law, *more utentium*, by the habit of those who live under them; ancient customs, in the thirteenth century words of the *Summa de Legibus* of Normandy, "held from ancient times [*ab antiquitate habiti*], approved by princes, and preserved by the people." Such laws, as Schroeder says in his history of German law, are not made; they are only "found." They are the customs, as Sir Edward Coke puts it, "of which the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." In fine, when reduced to a uniform system, they are the ancient "common law."

Instead then of saying that feudalism was inconsistent with Anglo-Saxon law, as some of the earlier historians do, I venture to assert that it was in large part feudalism itself and the energetic employment of a strictly feudal procedure of enforcement by exceptionally strong kings that serve to explain the perpetuation of the immemorial custom of the Anglo-Saxons in England, making it the "law of the land" and ensuring its persistence to our own times. These were "feudal" kings; but is it forgotten that the Conqueror himself commanded "that all should have and hold the law of King Edward" with only such additions as he himself had made, which we know were but few? Or that his son declared, "I restore to you the Law of King Edward"—not even *legem Edwardi* but *lagam*—with no additions whatever except his father's, after the "unjust exactions" of his brother's reign? Or that Stephen at his coronation "conceded" to his subjects "all the good laws and good customs which they had in the time of King Edward"? Or that Henry II, also at his coronation, conceded that all his men should have and hold these "free customs," just as Henry I, his grandfather, had conceded them? Or that the same king in his assizes habitually refers to himself as *dominus rex*, lord king, putting the feudal term "lord" first? Even if modern historians have found an incompatibility between feudalism and Anglo-Saxon custom, it seems clear that the Conqueror and all his family found none whatsoever.

That phrase of Henry II's just quoted, his reference to himself as *dominus rex*, suggests that his notion of feudalism differed from that of some modern historians in another important respect. They seem to think of feudalism as no more compatible with a strong kingship than with an Anglo-Saxon law; they tend to make administrative decentralization the very core of what they

are pleased to term "the feudal system." Clearly Henry II's notion of feudalism was a very different one. He apparently saw no difficulty whatever in coupling together the feudal *dominus* and the strong national *rex* and calling himself both. On the whole I think I should prefer Henry II's definition of such things to Freeman's.

But to get back to Dr. Cowell's mixture and to the Roman part of the mixture, what shall we say of its nature and its importance?

Here I am afraid I shall have to sin once more against historical orthodoxy, for the contemporary evidence compels me to say, contrary to the view apparently prevailing, that in the development alike of our constitutionalism and our common law the truly critical formative period of the three centuries immediately following the Norman Conquest seems far more important in estimating the influence of Rome on England than the age of the Renaissance in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Englishmen of the thirteenth century found in Justinian's law-books a constitutional principle widely different from—nay, directly opposed to—the political principles supported in Tudor times by quotations from the Roman texts. Thomas Cromwell, as Stephen Gardiner reports, repeated to Henry VIII the maxim "*quod principi placuit legis vigorem habet*" and urged the king if he wished to be a true king to follow it. In the thirteenth century Bracton had explained away this maxim of Roman absolutism and in its place accepted from the Roman sources the dictum of Papinian as the true central principle of both the Roman and the English state—"lex est communis sponsio rei publicae." A law is a *common engagement* and one not of the king but of the republic; and, as Glanvill had said before, in England it is ancient custom and not legislative enactment that we habitually put in the place of the Roman *lex*. That means "the common law," and it was this common law that Bracton had chiefly in mind when he said that the king was *sub lege*.

I have no time now either to justify or to enlarge on this, but I am convinced of two things concerning it: first, that Bracton is a truer interpreter than Cromwell of the constitution of both Rome and England; and, second, that the political principles of Bracton's age are far more important in their formative influence on our constitution than those accepted later by the monarchists of the period of the Renaissance.

This of course is not to say that the Tudor period is not important in the development of our political institutions and ideas. It is vitally important, and there is no period more in need of reconsideration; but it is on the whole a different kind of importance. Bracton's age is a formative and constructive one in the history of our common law and of the individual rights

the law defines. The Tudor period, on the other hand, is a period when the very existence of the common law is threatened and when individual rights are challenged by the encroachment of arbitrary will. The Tudors, Henry VIII especially, found means for the time to coerce their parliaments and act chiefly through them; but the acts are nonetheless acts of arbitrary will. No period is therefore more important, and probably none is in greater need of re-examination.

The zeal of the more extreme Germanist historians has certainly eaten them up. They have taken a quite justifiable pride in the wide distribution of Germanic free institutions in the Europe of the Middle Ages, but they have often failed to see that this early wide extension itself becomes a fatal objection to their own correlative assumption that it is this same Germanic element in our constitutionalism which also furnishes the sole explanation of the later persistence of English liberty to our modern times. To put this more concretely, it may be shown that England, and, for example, the Spanish kingdoms, had in the Middle Ages a common heritage of Germanic custom in which their constitutional liberty chiefly consisted. It may also be shown that about the end of the thirteenth century the development of Spanish liberty was as great if not even considerably greater than the English. But it is also undoubted that by the seventeenth century, and in fact long before, this liberty had been almost totally extinguished in Spain, in contrast to England. Clearly, Germanic origins alone, then, will not suffice as an explanation of this unique survival in England of liberties that were once shared thus by other western nations as well. England's different development cannot be attributed to a Germanic heritage that was common to all; it must be owing to factors that we should call English rather than Germanic, something peculiar to England or at least more prominent in England than elsewhere in European constitutional development. English history alone, with its maintenance of liberty, cannot make this wholly plain; to it must be added the constitutional history of the other Germanic lands where liberty once as great as England's has fallen before the forces of despotism; and this comparative constitutional study must include the medieval beginnings as well as the later fortunes of constitutionalism. We need to pay no less attention than before to the common origins of our constitutional liberty, but much more than before to the later periods of crisis, not only in England but in other countries as well. In France, for example, royal ordinances came in time to override the customary law and the individual rights it defined, largely because at least as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century many French jurists, even the most liberal ones, were attributing its origin

to the kings alone and not to the people: the vague and uncertain checks of the law of nature were all that remained as an obstacle to the king's arbitrary will. For why should kings be unable to change or ignore what kings alone had made?

In striking contrast to the French *coutume*, the English common law throughout its whole history was regarded by English common lawyers and judges as originating in the people alone and was treated as the *people's* peculiar inheritance, never to be altered save with the consent of their own representatives in the estates of the realm: the English common law never ceased to be "the common engagement of the republic," as Bracton had defined it, and when royal orders infringed the subjects' rights protected by this law the common-law judges in one famous case repeatedly refused obedience to Queen Elizabeth, because "the orders were against the law of the land, in which case . . . no one is bound to obey such an order." This case of Cavendish was American enough to be included by the late Professor J. B. Thayer among his *American Cases on Constitutional Law*.

For England as elsewhere the chief threat against the common law began in the sixteenth century. In the Tudor period it was a struggle on the king's part to substitute his will for the traditional principles of the common law by making parliament the vehicle of his own commands rather than the official interpreter of the ancient law as before. A subservient parliament, cowed by royal threats between 1529 and 1536, thus established the first clear precedents for the later constitutional doctrine of parliamentary omnipotence and marked the first notable exercise of a true legislative sovereignty in England. These acts culminated in the last session of the Reformation Parliament in 1536, in the Statute of Uses and in the expropriation of monastic property by mere power of parliament in patent contravention of the acknowledged principles of the existing law of the land. I regret that I have not the time adequately to indicate here the many doubts that unquestionably existed among contemporary English common lawyers as to the legality of such new and startling acts of parliamentary power. The view of most of them was probably expressed by Sir Edward Coke later in commenting on the parliamentary attainder of Thomas Cromwell without a hearing in 1540. That, he seemed to think, was an unwarranted violation of private right. It was bad law and should not be followed as a precedent; but it could not be resisted, for a legal decision by parliament, even a wrong one, was without appeal: parliament was the *dernier resort*. Many things are done, he regretfully says, quoting the canonists, and are binding, although they are forbidden to be done. By threatening the commons that he would have some

of their heads if his bill failed of enactment, Henry VIII secured the reluctant passage of the act against the lesser monasteries in 1536. It was probably a recognition on the king's part that new parliaments were not likely to be as subservient in the future which led to his attempt to carry out Cromwell's advice to make his will the law in the Statute of Proclamations of 1539, in which he failed, for the commons after long debate finally refused to sanction the legality of a royal proclamation infringing "any acts, common laws, standing at this present time in strength and force, nor yet any lawful or laudable customs of this realm," or taking away the "inheritances, lawful possessions, offices, liberties, privileges, franchises, goods, or chattels" of any of "the King's liege people." Government the king might carry on by proclamation if he chose; it was the common law that he must not be permitted to touch without consent of parliament.

D'Ewes's journals of the parliaments of Elizabeth have numerous indications of parliament's increasing anxiety to protect these common-law rights from royal encroachment, but I refer only to the most striking of them all, in the debate in Elizabeth's last parliament concerning royal monopolies. The most significant result of that great debate is, however, not, as constitutional historians usually suggest, the queen's promise to recall the oppressive monopolies of which the commons had complained; for that she could do by the same prerogative power under which these monopolies had been originally granted. The all-important thing is not that, but the less-noticed promise of the queen that all the monopolies *not* recalled "shall be left to the law." They had not been left to the law before; the common law had been "stayed." This was above all a victory for the common law, its final and greatest victory over arbitrary government in Tudor times.

I pass over the whole Stuart period, during which parliaments, when not suppressed entirely, intermittently maintained their traditional role as champions of the common law against arbitrary will. I omit the all-important attack of the Stuart kings upon the independence of the judiciary, the very citadel of the law, and come finally to the period after the Revolution, in the eighteenth century, when parliaments, though now largely freed from royal control, begin on their own account to reassert as their own prerogative the same kind of arbitrary authority which they had resisted so vigorously in Tudor and Stuart times when exercised by a king; an authority, as Bishop Atterbury caustically remarked at his trial in 1723, which "hath a greater power than the sovereign legislature of the universe; for He can do nothing unjust."

The earliest striking illustration of this new parliamentary omnipotence

is the passage of the Septennial Act in 1716 by a Whig parliament on the familiar plea of a national emergency, attributed in this case to the Jacobite rising of 1715. Without any mandate whatsoever from the electors, this parliament, chosen under a statute limiting its life to three years at the most, extended its own duration for four years more, and, as Bolingbroke says, "entailed septennial parliaments on the nation." It is not surprising that the doctrine of parliament's arbitrary power should rapidly grow after that and "become familiar." By the early years of George III's reign parliaments had gone much farther along the same road. They were now denying to the electors of Middlesex the right to choose their own representatives in the house of commons; they were attempting to throw into the Tower any London magistrate who resisted. In this connection one reactionary member even ventured to declare that "this house [the house of commons] constitutes the only people of England which the law acknowledges"! And when this arbitrary authority was extended to destroy the common-law rights of Englishmen in America after the end of the French war in 1763, the lord chancellor defended such actions by declaring that "every government can *arbitrarily* impose laws on all its subjects; there must be a supreme dominion in every state." "For what purpose were they suffered to go to that country," demanded Lord Carmarthen in 1770, "unless the profit of their labour should return to their masters here?"

In like manner, to take just one more last example, parliamentary privilege, which had been used in the seventeenth century to maintain the rights of an Eliot and a Selden against the despotism of a tyrant—in part rights under the *lex terrae* as well as the *lex parliamenti*—had become by the eighteenth little more than a means of shielding parliament's agents or exempting the immunities of its members from the normal operation of the law of the land. The commons richly deserved the rebuke of Colonel Barré in 1771 when he said:

You, who are only deputies or factors, have usurped a power not only superior to that of your creators, but destructive of the very rights by which they exist as freemen, and by which you yourselves exist as representatives. In the gulf of your privileges you have swallowed up the birthright of the people, who are ultimately paramount to all three branches of the legislature.

No wonder that the founders of our own state when confronted with the necessity of creating a new government after independence should insist that the chief fundamentals of this "birthright of the people" be set apart in a bill of rights that no government could ever arbitrarily touch. Fortunately

they were men trained in the political school of Coke, not that of Blackstone, and to them we owe much of the credit for the preservation to our time of our inheritance in the English common law, throughout the whole of our long history the chief bulwark protecting individual and "common" right against the despotic will of kings and of parliaments alike.

The Tragedy of Charles O'Connor An Episode in Anglo-Irish Relations

GIOVANNI COSTIGAN*

IN the year 1799 Father Charles O'Connor, rector of Castlereagh in the county of Roscommon, obtained permission from his bishop to leave his parish and reside in England as chaplain and librarian in the Grenville family at the great house of Stowe in Buckinghamshire. He was then thirty-five years of age. The step was momentous, the turning point of his life. He was leaving family and friends, cutting himself off from all known things, to embark on a new existence among strangers in a strange land. For England was a country almost completely unknown to him. He had not spent so much as a month of his life there. He was going from the desolate, hovel-dotted plain with its soaking roads and ragged hedges to the lawns of velvet and the noble woods of an English country house; from the society of a miserable, illiterate peasantry to that of one of the leading families of Europe; from the crepuscular half-lights of Connaught to the noonday glory of Stowe. How came this golden opportunity to fall into the lap of a simple country priest? And how was it untimely tarnished, so that Father O'Connor, instead of fame, found ultimate humiliation and despair? Stowe was a steppingstone not, as he fondly hoped, to the dignity of episcopal rank but to a state of degradation in which he found himself stripped of his priestly functions and forbidden to receive from others the sacraments which he was no longer allowed to administer himself. For fifteen years, despite his most piteous entreaties, he was to be allowed neither to confess nor to communicate. And when he finally returned to his native country, it was as a palsied tottering imbecile, to die in a lunatic asylum at the age of sixty-four.

Charles O'Connor was a proud man. He was proud of belonging to one of the oldest families in Connaught and of his descent from the ancient kings of Ireland. For the common people he had nothing but contempt. What Wolfe Tone, in a phrase of ringing defiance, called "that numerous and

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respectable class of the community, *the men of no property*,"¹ Father O'Connor scornfully stigmatized as "Irish bogtrotters" and as "the infatuated rabble of that country."² "The manners of the lower orders in Ireland," he wrote later, "are at once ferocious and fawning, hospitable and suspicious."³ "The common people of Ireland are devout without morals and religious without honesty."⁴ To this arrogance of caste he added a second and special pride in the memory of his paternal grandfather, Charles O'Connor of Belanagare, upon whose life he early modeled his own and whose achievements he was resolved to emulate, if not surpass.

Charles O'Connor the elder (1710-90) was probably the most distinguished Irish scholar writing in English in the eighteenth century. Dr. Johnson praised enthusiastically his *Dissertations on the History of Ireland*.⁵ Helvetius knew his work and admired it. Berkeley commended his *Seasonable Thoughts* for their "candour, judgment and learning."⁶ Edmund Burke applauded his attack upon the Penal Laws, while Protestants and Catholics alike acclaimed his spirited reply to Hume's "declamatory invectives."⁷ But the larger history of Ireland, which he intended as the crown of his labors and to devote himself to which he settled the family estate of Belanagare, County Roscommon, upon his elder son Denis, while he retired to a cottage called the Hermitage, built upon the edge of the demesne—this history was interrupted by lawsuits begun, under the protection of the Penal Laws, to deprive him and his heirs of the family estates. "A plague on it," he groaned in 1782, "The Anguish I suffered on this Account, has suspended the Historical Task I have set myself."⁸

It was to his grandson that the old man looked for the continuation of his work. He saw with delight the boy's early interest in history. Together they read and refuted Gibbon.⁹ When in 1779, at the age of fifteen, Charles got a scholarship to the Irish College in Rome, from his own depleted resources the Hermit of Belanagare sent him presents of maps and books, including five volumes of the *Parliamentary Debates*, and was doubtless gratified to hear later that the boy was transcribing the Manuscript of Nennius from Queen Christina's Collection in the Vatican.¹⁰ He wrote in

¹ Wolfe Tone, *Autobiography*, ed. R. Barry O'Brien (2 vols., London, 1910) I, 274.

² MS. letter, Charles O'Connor to ———? n. d.

³ Charles O'Connor, *Columbanus ad Hibernos*, IV, 88.

⁴ MS. letter, Charles O'Connor to William Plunket (?), Stowe, Aug., 1820.

⁵ Dr. Johnson to Charles O'Connor the elder, Apr. 9, 1755; Boswell, 4th ed., I, 177; II, 113.

⁶ Charles O'Connor, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Late Charles O'Connor* (Dublin, 1796) p. 224.

⁷ Charles O'Connor, MS. notebook on the life of his grandfather.

⁸ MS. letter, Charles O'Connor the elder to his brother, 1782.

⁹ *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Late Charles O'Connor*, p. 310.

¹⁰ Charles O'Connor, MS. notes on Irish history.

1783 suggesting that Charles undertake "the History of the Church during the four ages which succeeded to the times of the Apostles."¹¹ Encouraging reports came from the professors of the college, as in 1786, when Father Charles O'Kelly wrote to the old man that his grandson "diligently improves his talents. . . . If God preserves his life and health, I am confident that he shall hereafter shine in his own Country in every respect, and revive the memory of his grandfather's pen by his own."¹²

When in 1789, after an absence of ten years, Charles O'Connor returned to Ireland, he was a fully ordained priest and doctor of divinity. But the return of the native, from the land of palaces to the land of public houses, was marked with less of love than of loathing. Roman splendors had seduced his Irish heart. The pitiful manifest degradation of Irish life was more apparent to his unsubtle senses than the odor of corruption diffused through the city of the pontiffs, "that high Capital where kingly Death keeps his pale court in beauty and decay." Contemplating his return to his own country, O'Connor scribbled in his notebook the disgraceful remembered details of the life he was again to see around him: "huts so narrow, so dirty, so wretchedly contrived that the pig sleeps almost in one bed with the family, and the roof scarce affords one narrow passage for the light, and the Smoak, and the naked Children mingle on one Dunghil [*sic*] with the vilest of the animal Creation . . . is this," he asked bitterly, "the country that I am to get in exchange for this delightful Italy."¹³ "Dear Sir!" he protested on another occasion, after descanting to an Irish friend on the glories of the Seven Hills, "how can you expect that I should quit this scene without a throbbing heart, especially when I consider that I am returning to your miserable climate and more miserable country."¹⁴

Through the influence of his family he was at once appointed to the living of Castlereagh, though not without an unseemly wrangle with the bishop of Elphin, Dr. French, who had designed the living for one Owen Flynn, a relative of his own. Only when the O'Connors, "enraged at this indignity & violation of their ancient & just right, menaced to nail up the chapels of Kilkeevin & of Ballintubber," to both of which they claimed the right of presentation, did the bishop give way.¹⁵ Even this was not the end, for Dr. French insisted on appointing as curate his nephew Mr. Tonry, a young man of twenty-three. Tonry turned out to be, at least in O'Connor's account,

¹¹ MS. letter, Charles O'Connor the elder to his grandson, Charles O'Connor, Belanagare, Dec. 27, 1783.

¹² MS. letter, Fr. Charles O'Kelly to Charles O'Connor the elder, Rome, Dec. 6, 1786.

¹³ MS. letter book of Charles O'Connor, undated.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Charles O'Connor, MS. Memorandum on Castlereagh.

"a complete Buck—he carried his gun & invited his Pointer to the very Altar," and once fired shots from the house in which the rector was hearing confessions. His repeated expostulations ignored, the latter wrote to Rome for redress. Whereupon the bishop relayed to Cardinal Antonelli a conversation in which O'Connor had called another cardinal a fool. Soon after this he suspended the priest from his functions for three days. The matter ended with the ejection of Tonry, when it was discovered that he had had a bastard by a housemaid whom he had churchd himself. "It pleased God soon after," breathed O'Connor gratefully, "to take me away from the scene of this villany [*sic*] by my being invited to Stowe."¹⁶

For nine interminable years he had been immured in his west of Ireland parish. The years, however, were not profitless. In 1796 he published a life of his grandfather, who had died six years earlier.¹⁷ The book was a curious blend of denunciations of English misrule in Ireland and fulsome praise of the British constitution. It condemned "the most bloody despotism" of Henry VIII and characterized the Penal Laws as "the most ferocious bondage that ever disgraced the annals of a civilized nation."¹⁸ But O'Connor praised de Lolme's recent account of English political life, apropos of which he noted that the Irish "admire more and more, and pant even to a wildness of enthusiasm for this enviable organization of government, called the British Constitution."¹⁹

Among the admirers of the book was George Grenville, first marquis of Buckingham and twice lord lieutenant of Ireland.²⁰ During his second vice-royalty Lord Buckingham had, through the representations of the well-known Irish antiquary, Colonel Vallancey, become the patron of Charles O'Connor the elder, to whom he had promised a pension of £100 per annum, with the prospect of continuing it subsequently in his family. Perhaps it was not without hope of engaging the marquis' attention that Dr. O'Connor prefaced his work with an ardent eulogy of the principle of nobility, coupled with a vehement denunciation of republicanism, then in vogue through the activities of the United Irishmen. "Even though republicanism were a preferable form of Government," he wrote, "it would be found *unsuited to the genius of the Irish nation*, I consider nobility as a stimulus to the ranks beneath it . . . I

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ "The author," he declared in the preface, "endeavors to write without acrimony, though not without emotion; without one wish to irritate, with every wish to reconcile; yet, with inflexible candor as to facts, and a decided scorn for every influence, except that honest one, which is the result of enquiry and conviction. He knows that you would revolt at his manner, if he did not write as an Irishman, and a friend to the human race; and he disdains that narrowness of mind, that, confining itself to a party, forgets the universe." *Memoirs*, p. xv.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. x-xi.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 398.

²⁰ Buckingham was lord lieutenant of Ireland in 1782-83 and 1787-89.

believe that where all is on a level money is both monarch, nobility and citizen, and MONEY is a sordid qualification."²¹

Soon a correspondence sprang up between O'Connor's father, Denis, and Lord Buckingham. A portrait of the latter and some "superb views of Stowe" arrived at Belanagare. The marquis was ambitious of enlarging his library, which already contained some of the rarest manuscripts in the kingdom. Denis promised to send him the complete collection of original Irish Manuscripts, fifty-nine in number, which his father had gathered in the course of his studies in Irish history. The marquis, in his fulsome phrase, was "the person most deserving of them in the British Empire."²² He intimated also that the historian's private library, including some six hundred rare books, and all his personal papers were in the hands of the grandson and might with equal readiness find their way across the Irish Sea.²³ Before long both Charles and the books were at Stowe, though which accompanied which might not be easy to say.

The immediate object of Dr. O'Connor's visit was to collate the Stowe Manuscripts with those in the Bodleian and British Museum and to edit the chief Gaelic chronicles of ancient Ireland, including the Annals of Tigernach, Innisfallen and Boyle, the Annals of the Four Masters, and the Annals of Ulster. The fact that Mary Elizabeth, marchioness of Buckingham (herself an Irishwoman, being the daughter of the last Earl Nugent), was a Catholic and had her own oratory at Stowe enabled O'Connor conveniently to combine with his scholarly activities the continued discharge of his spiritual functions. The bishop of Elphin approved O'Connor's temporary residence in England "for purposes, connected with the History and Antiquities of his native Country," and granted him out of the revenues of Castlereagh an annual stipend of £50 during his absence.²⁴

For the next quarter of a century, like a spider at the dusky center of some vast web, the fallow little priest worked in the small, dim Gothic chamber which lay at the heart of Stowe's baroque magnificence.²⁵ There, in a

²¹ *Memoirs*, pp. iv-v.

²² Charles O'Connor the elder had bequeathed his MSS. to his second son, Denis' younger brother, Charles O'Connor of Mt. Allen, who willingly consented to turn them over to Lord Buckingham when informed of the latter's interest in them.

²³ MS. letter, Denis O'Connor to Lord Buckingham, 1799.

²⁴ MS. letter, Hugh McDermot to Charles O'Connor, Aug. 6, 1811. The pope's sanction was apparently obtained for the prolongation of O'Connor's leave until his work should be completed.

²⁵ In 1817 the bibliophile Thomas Frognall Dibdin visited Stowe. He found "the amiable and erudite Dr. O'Connor" in the MSS. room, "a small square Gothic-built apartment . . . beautifully and curiously decorated." The room was furnished with ebony chairs covered with festoons of flowers. The windows were of stained glass. "Tranquillity, comfort and order are the characteristics of this precious cabinet." Dibdin took a moonlit stroll with "the worthy and competent librarian of Stowe" to the marchioness of Buckingham's sepulchral monument. Dibdin, *The Bibliographical Decameron; or, Ten Days' Pleasant Discourse upon Illuminated Manu-*

profusion of cusps and trefoils, visitors would find him, beneath the elaborate ceiling with its carven canopies and circular shield filled with the two hundred armorial bearings of the house, and surrounded by the white glazed bookcases containing the priceless manuscripts whose custodian he was. Around him were disposed the great echoing halls of state—the main library with its twenty thousand volumes, a brave show in white calf and dark calf, in russia and morocco, with folios and quartos and octavos; the north hall with its painted ceiling and sculptured walls; the drawing room with pilasters of porphyry; the dining room with its enormous Brussels tapestries and Grinling Gibbons chimney pieces; the tremendous oval saloon with the sixteen tall scagliola columns and pavement of white marble laid in four-foot squares brought from Lord Melcombe's dismantled white elephant of a house at Eastbury in Dorset.

Outside, beyond the Ionic portico of the north front and the Corinthian portico of the south, beyond the semicircular peristyle and the great outspread wings, stretched the grounds and gardens, the Elysian fields and the Grecian valley. Lions modeled on those of the Villa Medici at Rome guarded the huge main entrance. "There is no sallying out of the house," wrote Horace Walpole, "without descending a flight of steps as high as St. Paul's."²⁶ Temples of friendship (friendships more fragile than temples), triumphal arches, ruins, pavilions, obelisks, columns, rotundas, grottoes, rustic bridges, waterfalls, and peacocks were elegantly disposed in a studied disorder, the whole enclosed by a ha-ha three miles in circumference. It was remarked of an earlier lord of Stowe that he "had a great taste for monuments which he erected with an amazing rapidity." Bridgeman, Kent, Vanbrugh, "Capability" Brown, had all left their mark on the place, inside or out. Horace Walpole boasted that he knew it by heart. "If Stowe had but half as many buildings as it has," he said, "there would be too many; but that profusion, that glut, enriches, and makes it look like a fine landscape of Albano; one figures oneself in Tempe or Daphne." All it lacked, he thought, was a monument to some American patriot.²⁷

Nor had Stowe lost, under the first marquis, its repute for lavish hospitality. Revels, routs, and masquerades wore down the summer nights, while music sounded through the glades and over the sheeted water. Balls vying in brilliance with those of the regent suggested Carlton House had come to rural England. Such display was not without a purpose. "For three genera-

scripts (3 vols., London, 1817), III, 401-402. Stowe, thought Dibdin, was perhaps the finest palace in England, not excepting Blenheim.

²⁶ Horace Walpole, *Letters*, ed. Mrs. Paget Toynbee (16 vols., Oxford, 1903-1905), VII, 396.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, V, 247; VI, 383.

tions," says Lord Rosebery, had the Grenville family "patiently and persistently pursued the ducal coronet which was the darling object of its successive chiefs." This was the meaning of their "pompous and crowded entertainments." Sarcastically he comments on what he calls their almost Chinese patience, "the pertinacity and concentration of this strange, dogged race, a political Company of Jesus [!] . . . There is nothing like it in the history of England; it resembles rather the persistent annals of the hive." But the animadversions of a Primrose, however patrician, were as little likely to have deterred the Grenvilles in their quest of the strawberry leaves as to have disgusted those who, like the librarian, lived on their bounty and enjoyed their magnificence in "the fair majestic paradise of Stowe."²⁸

Well might a simple priest from the bogs of Roscommon congratulate himself upon a fortunate translation and echo with gratitude the praise of Pope: "If any thing under Paradise could set me beyond earthly objects, Stowe might do it." As early as 1801 he was writing from Oxford, where he was at work in the Bodleian: "I love Englishmen with a degree of enthusiasm which makes me almost envy Englishmen their name."²⁹ He had been staunch for the Union before it was signed.³⁰ Now he recalled with disgust "the drunken and turbulent elections of Irish Members of Parliament."³¹ The Union was Ireland's only salvation. "I hold that England and Ireland," he declared, "must ever be united under one Civil Constitution."³² He even began to enlarge on the hereditary loyalty of Ireland to the British crown, or as he put it, the "manifest attachment of our Milesian Ancestors to the Crown of England," and proceeded to give examples from the reigns of Henry VIII and James I of what he was pleased to call "our ancient Irish principles of affectionate subordination."³³ He was delighted to find in the Tower of London an original letter from one of his ancestors, Odo O'Connor, king of Connaught, to Henry III of England, asking his consent to Odo's choice of a bishop for a Connaught diocese.³⁴ Indeed it was not long before Dr. O'Connor was himself lecturing his kinsmen with that air of condescension which English statesmen were wont to bestow on the mere Irish. "Every man of you," he calmly told his brother-in-law in 1809, "is what I was myself before I became acquainted with English manners. You are inflammable in the extreme when any act of Government or of the Civil Magistrate seems to trench upon what you deem y^r Religious liberties."³⁵

²⁸ Lord Rosebery, *Lord Chatham: His Early Life and Connections* (New York, 1910), pp. 132, 135; Dibdin, III, 399.

²⁹ MS. letter, Charles O'Connor to ———? Oxford, Oct. 5, 1801.

³⁰ MS. letter, Thomas Hussey, bishop of Waterford to Charles O'Connor, June 28, 1799.

³¹ Columbanus, VI, x. ³² *Ibid.*, I, 113. ³³ *Ibid.*, V, xlvi, I. ³⁴ *Ibid.*, VII, lxxxiv.

³⁵ MS. letter, Charles O'Connor to McDermot, Oxford, April, 1809.

The descendant of the kings of Ireland soon became habituated to the atmosphere of royalty. In 1805 and 1808 the prince of Wales stayed at Stowe; in 1808, the duke of Sussex; and in 1814, the duke of Gloucester. To an Irish friend who, like the rest of the world, knew of the regent only by report, Dr. O'Connor replied testily that, once you got to know him, the prince was not such a bad sort. "I have had the advantage," he said loftily, "of having lived in one house and dined at one table with him for a whole week and I think a great deal better of him than you are aware of—but after all what business have you to meddle in his domestic concerns. . . . There could be a Nero in Rome, but there cannot be a Nero in England."³⁶ In December, 1805, came the Duc de Berri with the future Charles X of France,³⁷ while Louis XVIII himself, then living in exile a few miles away at the manor of Hartwell, frequently honored the Buckinghams with his presence and distributed among the household at Stowe the smiles and nods which were the small change of his gracious approbation. Earnestly did Dr. O'Connor peer through his thick lenses and consult the omens in the Bourbon physiognomy. Even at mass he "could not resist the temptation of frequently stealing a glance at a personage who was never to be in such a situation again. In his Countenance I could read, in legible characters an awful foresight of events yet dubious, and difficulties which require the hand of the Almighty."³⁸

But the summit of felicity came in 1814 with the whirlwind descent of the tsar, at the height of the peace festivities and in the full glory of a Stowe midsummer. Alexander was at the moment on the wing between Oxford and London. Breathlessly the doctor watched him as he dashed hither and thither, into this room and that, glancing hastily at one picture after another, fingering with equal haste and indifference the leaves of vellum Gospels and Saxon charters, and finally running out across the lawn to take a rapid side view of the house. The most inveterate tourist of a century later could not have taken much off Alexander's time. He arrived at half past six in the evening and was gone by dark. Yet in that brief period the emperor had exuded a benevolence whose fragrance, for one at least, was fresh through life. As Dr. O'Connor put it, he had bowed

in a noble graceful & manly attitude to the people and one or two had actually attempted to shake hands with him and several touched him to have it to say that they had that honour. I never saw such a scene of the most unbounded and enthusiastic regard. It electrified me, as it would any one who had never witnessed such a scene before. I liked his countenance too. There was no affectation of popularity, no vulgar artifice to gain applause. His appearance was manly and

³⁶ MS. letter, Charles O'Connor to Thomas Jordan (?), 1807 (?).

³⁷ Charles O'Connor's MS. Journal, Dec. 30, 1805.

³⁸ MS. letter, Charles O'Connor to Sir William Fremantle, Stowe, Apr. 22, 1814.

noble & unaffected, he bowed to the people because he felt their generosity towards him and thought he owed them a Suitable return, nor did he remain an instant longer than he ought. Above one hundred well mounted farmers had galloped on before him and drew up in a line before the door as if they had been officered merely from the sense of the honor & respect due to a man who had tempered so much of warlike conquest with the humanity and forbearance of a civilized age.³⁹

No wonder the librarian of Stowe was eager to express his "warm gratitude to Lord & Lady Buckingham for thus enabling me to be acquainted in some degree with some of the first Characters in the world."⁴⁰ The worth of this exalted acquaintance was more than purely social. A sense of the political value of having the ear of the premier marquis of England soon dawned upon the Irish hierarchy. The Grenville clan, of which at that time the marquis of Buckingham was head, was undoubtedly one of the half dozen most influential families of the empire. The younger brother, Lord Grenville, had been prime minister in the ministry of all the talents. Both were noted for their strong attachment to the cause of Catholic emancipation. Placed as they were at the very center of English life, the value of a close personal connection with them was obvious. The Irish bishops soon perceived that O'Connor might serve such a purpose. Indeed he pointed it out to them. "Tho' I am but a poor Politician myself," he modestly told Dr. Troy, archbishop of Dublin, "having sometimes the advantage of conversing not only with Bishops & Doctors of high degree, but also with Lords & Commoners, I am enabled to draw conclusions which others, however possessed of superior abilities are not always qualified to deduce by any combinations or calculations of their own."⁴¹

From Drogheda, Dr. Reilly, archbishop of Armagh and primate of all Ireland, wrote to assure him that "I in common with every Catholic in this country, and I do suppose in the United Kingdom, look up to the Head & members of that noble & most respectable family as our best & sincerest friends, & the ablest supporters of our cause."⁴² His eminence of Dublin congratulated him upon his opportunity for scholarly work. "You enjoy it," he observed urbanely, "amidst the beauties of Stowe, which are, I am sure, considerably enhanced by the engaging Manners of its Noble Proprietor and his Lady."⁴³ Dr. Moylan, bishop of Cork, was another admirer of this *par nobile fratrum*. "That great & much revered Nobleman" the marquis, he told O'Connor, deserved "the most gratefull thanks of this Nation"; and to the

³⁹ MS. letter, Charles O'Connor to Anna Eliza, duchess of Buckingham, Stowe, June 16, 1814.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ MS. letter, Charles O'Connor to Dr. Troy, Stowe, Nov. 28, 1809.

⁴² MS. letter, Dr. Reilly to Charles O'Connor, Drogheda, July 12, 1808.

⁴³ MS. letter, Dr. Troy to Charles O'Connor, Dublin, Aug. 13, 1799.

owner of Dropmore he alluded as "the great & good Lord Grenville."⁴⁴ Even the papal nuncio, Mgr. Lorenzo Caleppi, was aware of the strategic value of O'Connor's situation and wrote in 1808, asking him to represent to the primate the importance of a confidential intercourse with the Grenvilles.⁴⁵

So much was expected in some quarters from this "confidential intercourse" that in 1812 the Dublin *Morning Herald* published a report stating that Lord Grenville had eight months before abjured Protestantism "at the feet of Mr. O'Connor" in the Catholic chapel at Stowe.⁴⁶ Such fantastic hopes aside, there was still good reason to believe that the librarian of Stowe might be of solid use in furthering the cause of Catholic emancipation. How far would he prove himself equal to the opportunity? How far would he justify his possession of the citadel in the heart of the enemy's country?

The Catholic question hinged at the moment upon the matter of the veto. In 1799 ten Irish bishops at a meeting in Dublin had accepted the government's offer to subsidize the seminary at Maynooth for the training of priests. In return they had agreed to yield to the government the power of veto over the nomination of bishops in Ireland. At a second meeting in Dublin, however, on September 14, 1808, the episcopate reversed itself. In that month also Dr. Troy told O'Connor directly that there was no use in suggesting the veto.⁴⁷ Moreover, he wrote in November, although the Irish gentry and nobility were in favor of it, the veto was in general unpopular throughout the country, and those bishops who had supported it were libeled in the press.⁴⁸ Simultaneously Dr. Moylan voiced his alarm from Maynooth. He dreaded government interference in the affairs of the church. "An absolute, unconditional & unrestricted veto should not be look'd for," he cried, "as it cannot be acceded to."⁴⁹ Six months later he wrote from Cork in a state of alarm bordering upon panic. Nothing less than the total debauchery of the "hyerarchy" would be the result of the veto.

The *Veto* in the Crown wo'd, it is well known, be the Veto of the Minister of the Day—and what Security co'd we have, that the Minister of the day wo'd be allways friendly to us, & not abuse of the *Veto* [*sic*]. Were the reins of Government allways to be held by such honest, liberal minded patriotick & Enlighten'd Statesmen as the Marquis of Buckingham, Lord Grenville, Mr. Windham & other like them, we should have nothing to apprehend. But, place that *Indefinite Veto* in the hands & under the control of such illiberal, bigotted, fanatical & Shortsighted Ministers, as a Percival, a Sidmouth, a Willboreforce [*sic*] . . . wo'd we not have every thing

⁴⁴ MS. letter, Dr. Moylan to Charles O'Connor, Cork, Mar. 24, 1805; Maynooth, June 30, 1808; Cork, Jan. 10, 1808.

⁴⁵ MS. letter, Charles O'Connor to Dr. Moylan, quoting Mgr. Caleppi's letter to him.

⁴⁶ Clipping from the *Morning Chronicle*, Mar. 18, 1812, denying this rumor.

⁴⁷ MS. letter, Dr. Troy to Charles O'Connor, Sept., 1808.

⁴⁸ MS. letter, same to same, Nov. 11, 1808.

⁴⁹ MS. letter, Dr. Moylan to Charles O'Connor, Maynooth, June 30, 1808.

to apprehend? Will they think themselves bound to observe any arrangement made by their Predecessors in favor of our Religion & its Ministers?⁵⁰

These apprehensions his lordship enlarged upon still further, while on his way to London, in a personal interview with O'Connor at Stowe.⁵¹

The consternation of the bishops, therefore, may be imagined when in spite of these warnings the doctor continued to uphold the veto. Instead of converting his noble patrons, he had been converted by them. He was not leading but led. He had in fact succumbed to the insidious influence of those gracious and expansive pressures which made up the atmosphere of Stowe. He informed Dr. Moylan that the marquis disapproved of the bishops' resolutions of September 14, 1808.⁵² At the request of the marchioness he took up the matter of the veto with Troy and Moylan directly. The replies he got from them, however, were "so cold & repulsive as to wound the feelings of that person [the marchioness] as well as mine."⁵³ Lord Grenville, whom O'Connor called "the greatest advocate the Catholic cause has had since the Reformation," was likewise in favor of the veto. In the house of lords on May 27, 1808, he declared that it was "unquestionably proper" and that it had formed part of a comprehensive plan in connection with the union of 1800.⁵⁴ O'Connor followed this lead. Emancipation was impossible without the veto, he assured Dr. Moylan. It was a just and necessary compromise and would not in any way injure the church. If Catholics refused to accept it, "we shall be stigmatized," he said, "as persons whose mental imbecility, equivocations, Reservations, subtilities, & disingenuous sophistry render them impracticable."⁵⁵

So the hopes of the bishops turned to dismay. In June, 1809, when a great petition was being launched in Ireland on behalf of Catholic claims, O'Connor told the archbishop of Dublin that he considered the moment inopportune. It would only embarrass Lord Grenville and the Catholic champions in parliament. He had inside information to the effect that this was just what Spencer Perceval and the no-Popery faction wanted. The only motive behind such a petition, he declared rather gratuitously, must be to test the sincerity of Lord Grenville, and of this, in view of his past record, there could be no doubt. It would be foolish to force him to declare himself in such a way as to lose influence in England. Dr. Troy could hardly have been mollified by the doctor's twice-repeated assertion that he was not writing at the behest of the Grenvilles.⁵⁶

⁵⁰ MS. letter, same to same, Cork, Dec. 12, 1808.

⁵¹ MS. letter, Hugh McDermot to Charles O'Connor, Mt. Talbot, July 9, 1811.

⁵² This is clear from Dr. Moylan to Charles O'Connor, Cork, Dec. 12, 1808.

⁵³ MS. letter, Charles O'Connor to Henry Bathurst, bishop of Norwich, n.d.

⁵⁴ Hansard, XI (1808), cols., 643-65; *Columbanus*, VI, Appendix: The progress of the veto.

⁵⁵ MS. letter, Charles O'Connor to Dr. Moylan, July, 1809.

⁵⁶ MS. letter, Charles O'Connor to Dr. Troy, Stowe, Nov. 28, 1809.

The nature of the change which was gradually taking place in O'Connor's opinions may be studied in detail from the fragments of a journal which he kept at Stowe. In it he records some conversations which passed between Lord Buckingham and himself. Horace Walpole had once noticed how opinionated was this nobleman, and Dr. O'Connor now acknowledged that the marquis talked rather "from his wish to converse than to learn anything from me." One of his pleasures was to bait the helpless doctor after dinner and enjoy his flustered confusion. Thus he would censure the church's practice of excommunicating "for money concerns," saying that this was something "which an English mind will never tolerate," or else he would hold the papacy responsible for the oppression of the poor in Ireland.⁵⁷

The sort of suave and insulting innuendo which the doctor had to endure may be glimpsed in his account of a conversation one November evening in 1805, when he

reminded Lord B. that the Priesthood in Ireland were the most laborious and deserving Men in the world, and that they were seldom treated with the respect they deserved—he owned it, and said that many exceptions to this statement were owing to the system—A Man who must ride like a postboy, & be up at all hours by night as well as by day must drink in self defence.⁵⁸

Or he would lecture his librarian on the pope's temporal power—"but where do you mark the limits—my good D^r are you aware?"—and correct him on points of history connected with the Council of Trent. Usually a "Nay, said his Lordship," was the end of the matter; but once at least when the doctor persisted in maintaining a point, the marquis was compelled to adopt sterner measures and give him the lie direct. "He wore Spectacles," noted the priest, "and looking sternly at me through those Spectacles I thought it would have killed me—he only said—*You do not think so.*"⁵⁹

Thus it came about that he who delighted to lay down the law listened meekly while another laid it down peremptorily. He who prided himself on his knowledge submitted to be scolded like a schoolboy. The doctor of divinity was lectured on the history of his own church—by a heretic. The lion of polemic was herded docilely from point to point about the field of discussion. Yet it would be idle to pity him. Not only did he avenge himself on other members of the household, snubbing them as he was snubbed, so that once even "Lady B. became fretful & called me a boar" [*sic*];⁶⁰ he also reveled in his own punishment. In him what the phrenologists of the next age were to call the organ of veneration was well developed. Great was his awe of the awful state of a marquis. His reverence for rank so blurred his

⁵⁷ Charles O'Connor, MS. Journal, Dec. 5, 1805.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Nov. 7, 1805.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, Mar. 24, 1806.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, July, 1806.

vision that he was unable to see through the lord to the man. Otherwise he might have perceived what Horace Walpole saw in Lord Buckingham—only a pompous nonentity. But the little rococo man was no respecter of persons and had no bump of veneration. For the doctor it was a pleasure to be transfixed by those terrible spectacles. One feels the relish with which he tells about them. His patron, moreover, had the grace to mangle him when they were alone. Hence it was not difficult to proceed to the final rationalization. "I like those conversations myself," the doctor would reflect after an evening's castigation, "and they are of singular use to me, as they refresh my memory with respect to what I know, and put me upon reading to have clear conceptions on subjects which I have not sufficiently examined."⁶¹

How far, and how curiously, those conversations led may be seen from the anonymous pamphlet which he published in March, 1810, called *Columbanus ad Hibernos, or A Letter from Columban to His Friend in Ireland, on the Present Mode of Appointing Catholic Bishops in His Native Country*. Only the name was dovelike about this unbidden visitant who, with raptorial beak and talons, now swooped on the clerical dovescots of Dublin. It may be imagined with what amazement the bishops heard of "the Spirit of Ecclesiastical Dominion which broods at Maynooth" and of "the principles and the practice of low Cunning, mental reservation, and servility [which] seem to be so much attended to within the walls of Maynooth."⁶² Perhaps amazement deepened into stupefaction as they went on to read about "the pretended infallibility of the Pope . . . the hireling and servile adulation of the *Court* of Rome" and of "writers residing in the Roman states, writhing under the thumb of the Pope, and under the lash of the Inquisition."⁶³ Before the year was out Columbanus had followed his first epistle by two others, and his identity became an open secret. The pretensions of the Irish bishops, O'Connor declared, tended, "in spite of all the influence and all the eloquence of our friends in Parliament, to impede our admission to the privileges of the British Constitution."⁶⁴ In other words, rejection of the veto was responsible for the delay in emancipation. "Let it not be supposed," he added blandly after sixty pages of invective, "that I am influenced by motives of private or personal ill-will. I have no cause of personal ill-will to any man living." The charge of disrespect for the episcopal order he repelled indignantly. "To say that I entertain *sincere* respect for that order, is saying too little. I entertain *hereditary* attachment to it, and religious veneration."⁶⁵ Once launched on such an avalanche of letters it was hard to stop. Besides he was enjoying himself. In a fourth epistle, pub-

⁶¹ *Ibid.* ⁶² *Columbanus*, I, 7, 112.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, I, 98, 52.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 8.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 138, and note.

lished in 1811, Columbanus insisted again that, but for the opposition to the veto, Ireland would already be enjoying Catholic emancipation.⁶⁶ In passing, he attacked the Index Canonicus and "Pope Leo 10's simoniacal abuse of indulgences," which he said was responsible for the Lutheran heresy.⁶⁷

One striking feature of these *Columbanus* letters is the malignity of their attacks upon the episcopate. In the first letter he intimated that the bishops were engaged in a "confederacy against the prescriptive rights of their Nobility, their Gentry, their second order of Clergy, and the whole body of the Irish people."⁶⁸ "I dare to enquire," he went on, "whether, under the mask of Religion, under the loud tumultuous roar of *Spiritual* Independence, and in this Volcano of zeal, which *sets the House of God on fire*, a conspiracy may not be formed against the real liberties, Civil and Religious, of the Irish people."⁶⁹ He denounced the bishops for demanding blind obedience to their orders and for turning their spiritual powers into "a temporal sword, whose hilt is somewhere in France, and whose point lunges at every Catholic in the British Islands."⁷⁰ He accused them of subservience to the Vatican. Like the ultramontane bishops in Ireland after 1646, he insinuated, they were "taught to prefer the standard of the Vatican to their own native harp, which had, on so many occasions before, united discordant interests, and soothed the savage dispositions of popular discontent." He warned the hierarchy, "nursed in the bosom of Ireland," against assuming "another sovereign and another country."⁷¹ He cast aspersions upon his eminence of Dublin's low birth.⁷² Most of all he inveighed against the system of episcopal succession and against the intrigues and nepotism with which he declared this was involved. The existing mode of appointing bishops—by joint nomination of the four archbishops to Rome—he denounced as expressly forbidden by the fifty-second canon of the Council of Nicaea in 325 and by the fifth canon of the Council of Rome in 465.⁷³ "Will the bishops," he asked, "shake the Irish Catholic Church to its foundations, by venturing to persevere in nominating their own Successors in defiance of these venerable decrees?" If they continued to do so, the result would be "a Servile, Sycophant, Snivelling and Symoniacal Priesthood. Is there a Protestant Bishop in Europe," he went on, alluding to some unpleasant rumors then in circulation regarding Dr. Dillon's disposal of the archiepiscopal see of Tuam, "who would dare to *bequeath* his Diocese, as the Catholic bishops now dare to do in Ireland?"⁷⁴ As for O'Connor's opinion with regard to the filling of vacancies, he wavered between two opposing principles of nomination—that by large landowners, and that

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, 89.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, 26, 10, note.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 10.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 14.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, IV, 28-29.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, IV, 93-94.

⁷² *Ibid.*, III, 11.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, I, 39.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 44-45.

by a majority of the parochial clergy in the diocese. The bishops, he told a correspondent, had taken advantage of the penal laws to resist ancient and customary lay nominations, to usurp the rights of the lower clergy, and to name their own successors.⁷⁵ One of the complaints against Rinuccini in 1646, he noted, was that of invading the rights of lay patrons.

The warmth of these attacks upon the hierarchy suggests that, to a considerable extent, the doctor's personal feelings had become involved. "To inquire into *motives*, in which the public have no concern," he proclaimed haughtily in the sixth letter in 1813, "Columbanus scorns to condescend."⁷⁶ Sufficient materials are at hand, however, to make such an inquiry not too difficult a matter. His chief motives would appear to have been wounded vanity and disappointed ambition. That he wished to be a bishop seems clear. But he expected a mitre to fall upon his head. He was unwilling to exert himself and indifferent to the exertions of his friends.

In 1803, when the see of Achonry fell vacant, the chapter of the diocese unanimously postulated for O'Connor. The latter's relatives wrote, urging upon him the advantages of "a Snug Bishoprick worth £150 or £200 a year" as against an insecure chaplaincy at Stowe.⁷⁷ But he was deaf to their appeals to raise himself from "the Mire of Dependence."⁷⁸ Five years later the see was again vacant, and once more the chapter postulated for O'Connor, who again refused to budge.⁷⁹ Perhaps the reason for his supineness was the poverty of the see of Achonry. The neighboring diocese of Elphin, in which the family lands were situated, was worth five or six times as much.⁸⁰ After the death of Dr. French on April 29, 1810, the family decided on a grand concerted effort to seat the librarian of Stowe in the episcopal palace at Boyle. Within a week

⁷⁵ MS. letter, Charles O'Connor to Lord ———? n.d. (in Journal, Vol. II).

⁷⁶ *Columbanus*, VI, v.

⁷⁷ "There is something flattering in the confidential Regard of people of such distinguished Rank and Merit. But then *no Security* is annexed to the Continuance of their Friendship, to the Permanence of that Situation. It is possible that Stow may be tired of you, as you of Stow. Satiety on either Side may arise. The Death of an Individual, the Fickleness of Friendship or of Fortune may interrupt your present Happiness, and turn you over again to a Live [*sic*] of Labour, and Anxiety. It is possible, nay it is *probable* that some time or other you may be obliged to return to Ireland: And if you be, is it not better come back to a Diocese than to a parish? Moreover you get nothing out of your parish, nor ever will while you remain at Stow. But if you be bishop of Achonry you can receive the Income of it as well at Stow as in the Diocese. It will not oblige you to Residence. . . . You can make a Visitation once a year Among us, and the rest of the year you may devote to Stow if you have a Mind. And you will surely be there not only more *respectable* but more *respected* as a *comfortable* Bishop than as a poor pennyless Priest. You may lose your Health, you may get a paralytick Stroke, you may break a limb, you may lose your Sight or your Hearing: any of which Events would unhinge you at Stow. Would not then a Snug Bishoprick worth £150 or £200 a year be a desirable Retreat, and far more creditable than to be . . . obliged to throw yourself on the Charity of Belanagare? Think of all this; think that your present Situation cannot last, and do not like a child rock yourself any longer in the Cradle of Security." MS. letter, McDermot to Charles O'Connor, Coolavin, Mar. 3, 1803.

⁷⁸ MS. letter, same to same, 1803.

⁷⁹ MS. letters, same to same, Coolavin, May 6, 1808; Sligo, July 1, 1808.

⁸⁰ MS. letter, same to same, Seaville, Sligo, Sept. 17, 1809; also n.d. (1810?).

of the bishop's death, Owen, as head of the house, had circulated a printed appeal on behalf of his brother throughout Dublin "and in all directions without losing a minute to the parish priests of the Diocese."⁸¹ He likewise wrote directly to Lord Buckingham, asking him to use his influence on behalf of his librarian. "It was the first letter I ever wrote to ask a favour from a great man," Owen told his brother, "and nothing but zeal for y^r Interest could have induced me to write it."⁸² But, he added two months later, "I dread that you will never have the opportunity of being promoted to a Bishoprick again."⁸³ So strong was Owen's family pride that he was resolved to stick at nothing, not even at simony.⁸⁴ Family hopes ran high. A Dublin evening paper already announced the happy event.⁸⁵ There were even rumors that O'Connor was being considered for a still higher dignity—for the archbishopric of Tuam itself.⁸⁶ These sanguine expectations were dashed by the appearance in March, 1810, of the first number of *Columbanus*. The good doctor evidently preferred, in the phrase of Hugh McDermot, his brother-in-law, "to moulder away an unprofitable life among the Bookshelves and Fishponds of Stow."⁸⁷

Yet, in spite of the disgrace of *Columbanus* and O'Connor's suspension from his functions both in Ireland and in England, his friends and relatives, putting their trust in the power of royal acquaintance, still contrived to indulge hopes on his behalf. In May, 1814, Owen begged him to use his influence with Louis XVIII (of which possibly he had heard exaggerated accounts) to get *himself* some Irish bishopric, Elphin or another. The restoration of the Bourbons, he pointed out, was O'Connor's great chance. Louis XVIII might even approach the pope. "Your friends are all looking to this and will not forgive you if you miss such an opportunity."⁸⁸ His aged mother

⁸¹ MS. letter, Owen O'Connor to Charles O'Connor, Dublin, May 7, 1810.

⁸² MS. letter, same to same, Aug. 26, 1809; Oct. 11, 1809.

⁸³ MS. letter, same to same, Oct. 11, 1809.

⁸⁴ "I will mention another Plan to you, but I certainly dont know how to act upon it—You know it has been said in this country that money given to the Relations of Doctor French has sometimes procured [*sic*] the warm Recommendations to Doctor French of those Relations, in favour of some Priest without Doctor French's knowing their motives and that presentations to Parishes have been sometimes procured in this way—Of this I know nothing but by report, which perhaps has no foundation in fact—You ought to know better, having been well acquainted with the clergy of this Diocese when you were in Ireland most of whom I know esteemed you highly and I therefore submit my plan to you: entreating at the same time if you think such reports were ill founded and that you think what I propose cannot therefore succeed that you will burn my letter immediately lest it should be seen, for I own that I feel a Difficulty in it I cannot express. But if on the other Hand you have any reason to think that One, two or three Hundred pounds can be successfully applied in this manner to which I have above hinted in procuring your being nominated as Dr. French's Coadjutor I will advance the money for you immediately in such way as you shall direct, but you must think of some move in the management of this without my being Ostensible." MS. letter, same to same, Aug. 26, 1809.

⁸⁵ MS. letter, McDermot to Charles O'Connor, n.d. (1810).

⁸⁶ MS. letter, Owen O'Connor to Charles O'Connor, Belanagare, June 5, 1810.

⁸⁷ MS. letter, McDermot to Charles O'Connor, Oct., 1808.

⁸⁸ MS. letter, Owen O'Connor to Charles O'Connor, Belanagare, May 22, 1814.

united her entreaties from Belanagare.⁸⁹ The unquenchably sanguine Hugh wrote at the same time: "The Report of the Country is that you are Bishop of Elphin, and that Louis the 18th wrote himself to the Pope on your behalf."⁹⁰ Actually Columbanus had as much chance of being bishop of Elphin as of being pope of Rome.

It remains to inquire why O'Connor should, with apparent deliberation, have ruined his chances of obtaining a bishopric? Was it that he had grown tired of waiting and that his chagrin found relief in violent utterance? Was it the product of an overweening confidence—he boasted of the rapidity with which he threw off the first letter—and a first exhibition of that almost insane egotism which was soon to be his downfall? Or was it, as Owen seemed to think, that the marquis was against his librarian returning to Ireland and that the latter yielded to his influence?⁹¹ There is not at present enough evidence to determine. Dr. O'Connor's own justification appeared in the third number of *Columbanus*. He could not accept the see of Elphin, he declared, because he was incapable of "that vile contemptible cunning, that lying and canting hypocrisy, that lowborn policy of vulgar peasants, and of still more vulgar minds, which live by expedients, playing a double part unworthy of our ancestors, disgraceful to our country, horrible in the eye of God."⁹² His final rationalization was that Columbanus had been condemned to prevent his becoming a bishop! Jealousy had prompted the authorities to silence him.⁹³ That his failure to become a bishop, whatever its cause, rankled exceedingly is evident from his constant readiness to prefer the charge of unscrupulous episcopal ambition against others. Almost the first slur thereafter which he sought to cast upon an opponent, the stone ever ready to his hand, was the accusation of greed for a mitre. The idea that all clergymen were engrossed in this pursuit became an obsession with him.⁹⁴

It is hardly surprising that he soon felt the official displeasure of the church. In December, 1810, Bishop Douglass, his immediate superior in England, withdrew his faculties for the London district. Two years later, at a

⁸⁹ As stated in Owen O'Connor to Charles O'Connor, Belanagare, July 16, 1814.

⁹⁰ MS. letter, McDermot to Charles O'Connor, Coolavin, May 10, 1814.

⁹¹ MS. letter, Owen O'Connor to Charles O'Connor, Oct. 18, 1809.

⁹² *Columbanus*, III, 11.

⁹³ MS. letter, Charles O'Connor to Lady Mary Arundell, May 1, 1814.

⁹⁴ MS. notes of Charles O'Connor on the cover of his copy of *Columbanus*, VI. "My good Berrington/ You miscalculate if you fancy that the Roman Court will ever make you a Bishop." Cf. regarding Rev. Fletcher's good-natured intervention in 1817. "Is this Mr. Fletcher a Jesuite [*sic*]? or is he looking for a Mitre? or a Cardinal's hat." Annotations of Charles O'Connor on Fletcher's letter to him, Oct. 16, 1817. Dr. Poynter, he also declared, had proceeded against him in order to succeed Dr. Douglass. "Dr. Douglas [*sic*] was on the verge of the grave. — Dr. P looked to the succession, and nothing could be better calculated to bring him forward with eclat than a contest in which, having excommunication on his side, he might make an easy breakfast of Columbanus." *Columbanus*, VII, cii.

time when O'Connor had returned to Dublin to superintend the sale of *Columbanus*, Dr. Troy suspended him from the exercise of all his priestly functions. The news was conveyed one Sunday morning just as he was preparing to celebrate mass—a moment chosen, according to O'Connor, with the deliberate intention of provoking him into a rash act of disobedience which might have still more drastic consequences. In August, 1812, he was likewise suspended in England, and his writings were condemned as schismatic in tendency by Dr. William Poynter, bishop of Halia and successor to Dr. Douglass as vicar apostolic of the London district. O'Connor retaliated with a fifth letter in which he defended Henry IV at Canossa⁹⁵ and a sixth, in 1813, in which he maintained that "theological malignity" had tried to "enthroned a Spiritual Fiend in the heart of Columbanus . . . from the secret intrigue of 1799, the spirit of encroachment stalked abroad with the gigantic stride of a Philistine."⁹⁶

More and more the fruit of those afterdinner conversations was ripening. The doctor had by this time reached the stage of denouncing "miracle-mongering," scapulars used "like the amulets of Tippo-Saib," and the mummeries of gaudy dolls in Italy which opened or shut their eyes to announce impending calamities or to arrest volcanoes. He jeered at the house of Loreto taking up its abode among the assassins of Ancona and attacked Jesuits, Dominicans, and Franciscans impartially. He accused the church authorities of thinking it dangerous to read the New Testament and exploded against "the vilest maxims of Ultra-montanism."⁹⁷ Without knowing it and while still protesting his complete loyalty to the Catholic church, he was fast becoming Protestant in all but name.

At this time also he suffered two severe additional blows. The death in 1812 of his devoted friend Lady Buckingham and of her husband a year later lost him his foremost champions. The next marquis, later first duke of Buckingham and Chandos, though he signified his willingness to continue him as librarian at Stowe, had never been friendly to Dr. O'Connor.⁹⁸ The great house, moreover, was now deserted. The new owner was absent for lengthy periods and plunged into a life of gaiety and extravagance which soon encumbered the estate with debt. The children had grown up, married, and departed. Except for the servants, the doctor was usually alone in the great emptiness. His troubles preyed increasingly upon him, and he began to develop marked symptoms of persecution mania. He fancied himself the center of a vast conspiracy, the eyes of the world upon him. He dilated upon

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, V, 57. ⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, VI, v. ⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, VI, 101-106, 180.

⁹⁸ Charles O'Connor, MS. Journal, *passim*.

the tortures his enemies would put him to, if only the Inquisition were still in force.⁹⁹ Opposition to ecclesiastical authority, said Columbanus, had always been "persecuted with all the harsh intemperance of the most tyrannical passions, with confinement, with dungeons, with fire and faggot, with slavery and with death!"¹⁰⁰ The church's treatment of him was "more bitter and relentless" than the penal code itself.¹⁰¹ "The martyrdom of the Spirit," he lamented on Good Friday, 1819, "when so prolonged by denying me the essentials of my religion is worse than 'Damien's bed of steel' which lasted only one day."¹⁰² Like him, Savonarola¹⁰³ had been attacked for his honesty and Pico¹⁰⁴ for his learning. He likened his fate to that of "Joan of Arques." He, too, would be vindicated when his ashes were cold in the grave.¹⁰⁵ He insisted that he had been excommunicated¹⁰⁶ (which was untrue). Why was he singled out, he demanded, when Richard of Armagh, "Whose works abound in great errors," was not?¹⁰⁷ To his sister he wrote: "Literally my hair turned grey [in another draft he substituted 'white'] from anxiety. I was the only Catholic in the British Islands who was deprived of the benefits of his Religion."¹⁰⁸ He consoled himself with the *Imitation of Christ* and by "the example of many Saints, who have been persecuted in the same way, who suffered the same privations that I do, and carried that cross to their graves."¹⁰⁹ He even compared himself to Christ. Bishop Poynter was Pontius Pilate.¹¹⁰ He was "a calumniated & persecuted Catholic clergyman" serving "my calumniated, persecuted & excommunicated [!] Master."¹¹¹ The opinion of the world was of no consequence. "The world cried *hosannah* to the Son of David one day & crucify [*sic*] him the next."¹¹²

In another mood he would demand to have his case considered by an Oecumenical Council; then he would waive this claim for a council of the whole church and consent to appear before a General Council of the Latin church, or even, providing the lower clergy were present too, before "a *free* National Synod."¹¹³ His defense was not a matter of personal concern. It

⁹⁹ *Columbanus*, VII, *passim*.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, IV, 123.

¹⁰¹ MS. letter, Charles O'Connor to Rev. Wilds, 1816.

¹⁰² MS. letter, Charles O'Connor to Lady Mary Arundell, Stowe, Good Friday, 1819.

¹⁰³ *Columbanus*, VII, xviii, xlviii.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, VII, xliii.

¹⁰⁵ MS. letter, Charles O'Connor to Charles Butler, Oct. 4, 1821.

¹⁰⁶ *Columbanus*, VII, ii, 71.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, VII, xxv.

¹⁰⁸ MS. letter, Charles O'Connor to Eliza McDermot, Stowe, Aug. 28, 1821; *cf.* also Charles O'Connor to Lord ———? (*ca.* 1822).

¹⁰⁹ MS. letter, Charles O'Connor to Butler, Stowe, Mar. 26, 1820.

¹¹⁰ MS. letter, Charles O'Connor to his nephew Denis O'Connor, Dec. 7, 1821.

¹¹¹ MS. letter, Charles O'Connor to Rev. Wilds, Stowe, Oct. 29, 1816.

¹¹² MS. letter, Charles O'Connor to Courtney Throckmorton, Stowe, Nov. 25, 1817.

¹¹³ *Columbanus*, VI, 186.

involved "the dearest interests of the Catholic Church," and if no one else would defend those interests, he would.¹¹⁴ The persecution of him was also endangering Catholic emancipation. "A wicked cry of schism and heresy raised by persons who are interested in a usurpation of extravagant power and pretensions to absolute blind domination, has overwhelmed every measure which has been benevolently proposed for Catholic Emancipation."¹¹⁵ He considered taking legal action against Dr. Troy. If he wished to proceed against him, there should have been first a monitory, then a citation, then a hearing, then the "cause of a suspension fairly and accurately stated in writing," then time for defense, and finally public trial.¹¹⁶ The quarrel was now not between Troy and O'Connor but between Troy and the whole Catholic church!¹¹⁷ Dr. Poynter, too, should have issued three monitories. Even God could not do without them. They "never were & never can be dispensed with by any power upon earth no not even by the Almighty Being who cannot dispense in the principles of right & wrong."¹¹⁸ His "excommunication" was therefore null, and his denial of sacraments sacrilegious.¹¹⁹ In addition, Dr. Poynter was guilty of mortal sin for the "calumnious Censures" which he had made.¹²⁰ At other times he relieved himself by an invective which was as feeble in effect as it was ferocious in intent, as when he accused Dr. Milner, an arch-enemy, of being "a gormandizer who would eat beef stakes [*sic*] before Mass on Good Friday." It was in the same letter, incidentally, that he declared: "I am one of the last men in the world, who would yield to personalities. . . . I abstain from personalities, they are beneath my notice."¹²¹

At least as early as 1815 he appealed to Cardinal Consalvi, the papal secretary of state.¹²² His protest was ignored. Three years later he took advantage of the presence in Rome of his nephew Denis O'Connor to address a letter to the pope in person. Not unmindful of his violent attacks upon the curia, "you will, no doubt," he told Denis, "hear many invidious remarks upon some warm expressions in my works on the intrigues of the Roman Court," and he authorized him to apologize for any personal remarks reflecting on Pius VII, "our aged and venerable Pontiff," as he called him, "whose Sins with

¹¹⁴ MS. letter, Charles O'Connor to Lady Mary Arundell, May 1 (?), 1814.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* Cf. printed pamphlet to Rev. J. Berrington, June 27, 1813, p. 11.

¹¹⁶ Charles O'Connor's MS. Journal, Vol. I: Correspondence of Dr. Troy and Charles O'Connor.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ MS. letter, Charles O'Connor to Charles Butler, *ca.* Oct. 4, 1821.

¹¹⁹ MS. letter, Charles O'Connor to Lady Mary Arundell, Stowe, Apr. 15, 1814; Charles O'Connor to ———? (1816).

¹²⁰ Printed pamphlet of Charles O'Connor, addressed to Rev. J. Berrington, June 20, 1813, annotated by O'Connor.

¹²¹ *Columbanus*, VII, 6: lxxx, lxxxix.

¹²² Appeal and Remonstrance to Pius VII, July, 1818.

respect to the crowning of a Napoleon, I am willing to forgive.”¹²³ In his appeal he drew an analogy between the bishops’ persecution of himself and the Pharisees “accusing our Saviour of Heresy against the Law & the Prophets, & excommunicating him calumniously.” He concluded with a veiled threat to the Holy See. “Generations yet unborn,” he cried, “will be interested in ascertaining whether the Roman See teaches that any human being is invested by the Divine Being with the power of calumniating another and the degrading & deposing him from all his professional honours, titles and advantages.”¹²⁴ The pope received the appeal from Denis’ own hands and passed it on to the College of Propaganda, where it at once began to gather dust, while Denis, cooling his heels in an interminable series of antechambers,¹²⁵ had ample opportunity to test the truth of the witticism that waiting in a cardinal’s antechamber gave one the nearest idea that could be formed on earth of the nature of eternity. “The slowness of ecclesiastical proceedings here,” he fumed, “is a severe test of human patience. I have known many detained here month after month to arrange some trifle which they imagined would have occupied them but as many hours.”¹²⁶ A year later he was still waiting. “Either laziness or imbecility or both,” he broke out against the cardinals,

gives such a tone of indecision to their proceedings that their dilatoriness is proverbial. My disappointment & vexation I cannot describe. . . . Is it possible the clergy here believe what they preach, that a single soul is of infinite value because redeemed at an infinite price & that it cannot be saved without the aid of the sacraments [*sic*]?—& that under this conviction they calmly incur the guilt of exposing a soul to hopelessness from their procrastination and neglect? ¹²⁷

Meanwhile at home his uncle was coolly construing the indifference of Rome as a personal triumph. “Rome has been humbled into caution,” he announced.¹²⁸ In September, 1820, he made a final appeal to the pope. “Your H. must allow,” he urged magnanimously, “that considering the many Roman Court abuses of former and of recent days to which my works refer, it was nothing less than a very high opinion of the honor & integrity of yr. H. that could induce me to make such an appeal.”¹²⁹ This, too, remained unanswered.

His patronage of St. Peter’s successor was only one form of the megalomania from which he was suffering. Even before the death of the march-

¹²³ MS. letter, Charles O’Conor to his nephew Denis O’Conor, Stowe, Dec. 8, 1818.

¹²⁴ Appeal and Remonstrance to Pius VII, July, 1818.

¹²⁵ MS. letter, Charles O’Conor to Butler, Stowe, Mar. 26, 1820.

¹²⁶ MS. letter, Denis O’Conor the younger to Charles O’Conor, Apr. 17, 1819.

¹²⁷ MS. letter, same to same, Apr. 22, 1820.

¹²⁸ *Columbanus*, VII, lxxv.

¹²⁹ MS. letter, Charles O’Conor to Pius VII, Sept. 23, 1820.

ioness in 1812 it had been in evidence. "My dear Doctor," she would rally him gently, "your head is so full of your own business that it is no wonder you should think it causes the rain, the wind, the King's illness, the Queen of France's death—the King of Swedens [*sic*] arrival—in short everything that happens."¹³⁰ A few years later he was himself convinced "that Rome would give a Cardinal's hat to any person who could prevail upon me to retract. I know that this is only a conjecture," he added, "but I believe it."¹³¹ He was now talking of sending his justification "to the Corners of the Globe."¹³²

These grandiose delusions enveloped an actual existence which was daily becoming more pitiful and abject. He began to think that the very servants were forming plots against him, that he was hemmed in on all sides by conspiracy. He had long brooded upon the disgrace of his name in Ireland, his prospects become "the Sport and the Scorn of the vilest bogtrotters, as well as of the great knaves in my native country."¹³³ One who visited him at this time found him "deeply sunk into the vale of years, and afflicted with frequent and severe infirmities."¹³⁴ His hand was so palsied that he could scarcely write. The wavering childish zigzags of the feebly guided pen, the badly smudged and blotted page, are pathetic witnesses to a decrepitude of body as well as of mind. His person, which apparently he had always neglected, now became totally disreputable. Shabby and dirty, his fingernails black, reduced to the physical ignominy of the peasant life which he despised, his pride of intellect and pride of birth alike laid low, he shuffles out of reason and out of history. It was soon necessary to send him to an asylum in Ireland. In his diary the duke of Buckingham has recorded the painful scene of the doctor's removal from Stowe. The duke took leave of him in the manuscript room.

3 July 1827:—He scarcely spoke, but, beginning to talk about thanks, gratitude, etc. I stopped him and endeavored to speak cheerfully to him, and of seeing him again. I then kissed the old man's forehead and left him. I felt deeply the parting of an old friend. He showed no emotion.

4 July 1827:—The poor Doctor leaves Stowe. This terminates a connection of twenty-nine years. He leaves me in the greatest possible aberration of mind. For the last three days he has been packing and unpacking and repacking, and at last leaves three trunks corded up and directed with the greatest care, with the keys on the table, saying to Broadway that they must be examined by a Justice of

¹³⁰ MS. letter, Mary Elizabeth, marchioness of Buckingham, to Charles O'Connor, n.d. (*ca.* 1811).

¹³¹ MS. annotation of Charles O'Connor on letter of Rev. Fletcher to him, Weston, Oct. 16, 1817.

¹³² MS. letter, Charles O'Connor to Rev. Wilds, n.d. (*ca.* 1816).

¹³³ MS. letter, Charles O'Connor to Rev. James Archer, Stowe, Apr. 6, 1813.

¹³⁴ Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *The Library Companion* (London, 1824), p. 259.

the Peace and then forwarded to me. All his letters and papers he leaves scattered about. . . .

To shew the wanderings of the poor man's intellect, he went yesterday or the day before to Broadway to tell him that he had been to the kitchen door, which was shut against him; that he was famished, for that I had ordered that he should have nothing to eat in the place, and therefore that he begged Broadway would give him some victuals as for himself, Broadway tried to reason him out of the folly, and when he found that he failed, he went to Pool, the steward, who assured him that no such order was given. The poor Doctor had never been near the kitchen door, and had just been eating a hearty luncheon when he told him so.¹³⁵

Within a year he was dead and was buried in the family graveyard by the ruined castle of Ballintubber. For the rest, to borrow the words of an older writer: *The iniquity of oblivion blindly scattereth her poppy.*

¹³⁵ The private *Diary of Richard, Duke of Buckingham and Chandos* (3 vols., London, 1862), I, 2-3.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

Secret Negotiations to Maintain the Peace of Amiens

CARL LUDWIG LOKKE*

IN the preface to his life of Napoleon, Professor Rose declared it to be "questionable whether the renewal of war between England and Napoleon in 1803 was due more to his innate forcefulness or to the contempt which he felt for the Addington Cabinet."¹ Whatever opinion one may hold on this point, there can be little doubt that the weakness of the Addington government, which made and broke the Peace of Amiens with France, encouraged the First Consul in his policy of aggression. British statesmanship during this period became in truth, to quote Rose again, "the laughing stock of Europe." Sensing the attitude toward them and noting the swelling resentment of Pitt's followers as England sank in prestige, the ministers finally took a stand on Malta. They refused to evacuate this Mediterranean island in accordance with Article X of the Treaty of Amiens, for they feared, not without reason, that evacuation would be followed by a new French expedition to Egypt. Instead, after prolonged negotiations, they demanded a revision of the treaty in such wise that British occupation of Malta should continue for ten more years. This ultimatum Napoleon rejected, the British ambassador asked for his passports, and on May 18, 1803, Great Britain declared war on France.

In the circumstances it is not surprising that war came in May but rather that it did not come two months sooner. Already strained, relations between the two countries became distinctly critical after George III on March 8, 1803, sent a message to parliament, asking that in view of the military preparations in the ports of France and Holland "additional measures of precaution" be taken for the security of the kingdom. "In writing the history of our own times [commented the *Annual Register*], we may fairly appeal to the recollection of every person in the country, as to the impression which that message made: it was felt in parliament; it was felt at court; it was felt in the city; it was felt every where, and by every person of common sense, as the

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¹ John Holland Rose, *The Life of Napoleon I*, (11th ed., London, 1934), p. ix.

sure precursor of a rupture."² It was also felt by Napoleon, felt so keenly indeed that the young autocrat threw himself into a paroxysm of fury in consequence. Nor did he delay long in acquainting England and Europe with his state of mind. On Sunday, March 13, at a Tuileries reception to the diplomatic corps, he vented his wrath upon the hapless British ambassador, Lord Whitworth. He called loudly for Malta or war. Although Whitworth informed his government about the humiliation he had experienced, nothing happened. His country did not declare war; neither did France. The negotiations between the two governments continued for two more months. Why?

One answer to this question, apart from the desire of each side to await the effect of its gesture of defiance,³ is to be found in the secret negotiations which were proposed immediately after the Tuileries incident and set in full motion by the end of the month. Oddly enough, the nature of these negotiations appears to have escaped the attention not only of Rose⁴ and Sorel⁵ but of other historians⁶ who have described Anglo-French relations in that period. Browning did not allude to it, although he printed several letters dealing with the secret negotiations in the later stages.⁷ Lacour-Gayet passed up these negotiations entirely,⁸ Lacour-Gayet who seldom lost an opportunity to exhibit Talleyrand in a discreditable light. This is the more remarkable because C. D. Yonge in his life of the second Earl of Liverpool (who as Lord Hawkesbury held the post of foreign secretary under Addington) long ago recounted the secret negotiations at some length.⁹ He showed that the British ambassador in March, 1803, entertained the hope of averting a renewal of war by bribing Joseph Bonaparte, Talleyrand, and other high French officials. The manuscripts on which he based his account were later deposited in the British Museum.¹⁰ By means of these documents and several others among

² *The Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politics, and Literature for the Year 1803* (London, 1805), p. 281.

³ Before seeing the text of the message, Whitworth undertook apparently without success to convince Talleyrand that "the measure was merely precautionary, and not in the least degree intended as a menace." Whitworth to Hawkesbury, Paris, Mar. 12, 1803, Oscar Browning, ed., *England and Napoleon in 1803, Being the Despatches of Lord Whitworth and Others* (London, 1887), pp. 110-11.

⁴ Rose, I, 401-29.

⁵ Albert Sorel, *L'Europe et la Révolution française* (Paris, 1885-1904), VI, 266-300.

⁶ See Otto Brandt, *England und die Napoleonische Weltpolitik, 1800-1803* (2d ed., Heidelberg, 1916); Theresa Ebbinghaus, *Napoleon, England, und die Presse, 1800-1803* (Munich and Leipzig, 1914); Edouard Driault, *Napoleon et l'Europe; la politique extérieure du Premier Consul, 1800-1803* (Paris, 1910); P. Coquelle, *Napoleon et l'Angleterre, 1803-1813* (Paris, 1904); and Harold C. Deutsch, *The Genesis of Napoleonic Imperialism* (Cambridge, 1938). Both Brandt and Deutsch give excellent bibliographies but do not include the Yonge volume mentioned below.

⁷ Browning, pp. 188, 194, 209-12, 228-30.

⁸ Cf. Georges Lacour-Gayet, *Talleyrand, 1754-1838* (4 vols., Paris, 1928-34), II, 67-69.

⁹ Charles Duke Yonge, *The Life and Administration of Robert Banks, Second Earl of Liverpool, K.G., Late First Lord of the Treasury*, compiled from original documents (3 vols., London, 1868), I, 106-17.

¹⁰ They are listed in the series of additional manuscripts in the *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years MDCCCXI-MDCCCXV* (London, 1925).

the Joseph Bonaparte Papers in the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères in Paris, it is possible not only to confirm what Yonge made known in 1868 but also to trace in a measure the effect of money offers on the French.

On March 14 Whitworth wrote two letters to Hawkesbury, one official, the other "most secret and confidential." In the official dispatch he described the scene that had taken place at the palace the day before.¹¹ According to him, the First Consul's words had been spoken loudly enough to be heard by the two hundred persons present, and everyone, Whitworth thought, felt the "extreme impropriety" of his conduct. The ambassador announced mildly that he proposed taking the first opportunity to tell Talleyrand that if he was to be publicly "attacked" by the First Consul in the Tuileries he would be obliged in future to refrain from presenting himself there until he had assurances that the same thing would not happen to him again. He did not ask to be instantly recalled in case Talleyrand did not make suitable apologies for the insult to Great Britain in the person of her envoy. In the secret letter, sent in cipher, Whitworth told the foreign secretary that a person in the confidence of Lucien Bonaparte had commissioned a gentleman in whom the ambassador placed confidence to suggest to him (Whitworth) that in return for "a valuable consideration" the First Consul's family might be induced to persuade him (Napoleon) to allow Great Britain to retain Malta.¹² The British, on their part, would "palliate the transaction" by offering to recognize some of the new settlements in Europe or to render assistance to Napoleon in his efforts to conquer St. Domingue. "I throw this out to your Lordship [wrote Whitworth] as it was thrown out to me." At the same time he cautioned Hawkesbury to communicate the proposal only to Mr. Addington and Lord Liverpool, rather than to the cabinet as a whole.

There is no way of telling whether Whitworth's two letters reached the foreign secretary by the same messenger or even at the same time. In any case he replied to the secret letter on March 17, the day he received it, but not to the official dispatch until March 22. This fact, interesting in itself, takes on particular significance in view of the contents of the reply to the secret letter. Hawkesbury wrote: "I lose no time in informing you that if an arrangement could be concluded which should be satisfactory to His

¹¹ Browning, pp. 115-17.

¹² Quoted *in extenso* in Yonge, I, 106-107. The rumor of bribery was in the air. On March 13 the Neapolitan ambassador at Paris wrote to his king that someone had come from the British ministry with an offer of forty million livres for Malta "pour faire immédiatement la Paix"; moreover, he continued, this person let it be understood that if peace depended on it an even greater sum would be paid. Jules D'Auriac, "Un ambassadeur à Paris sous le Consulat d'après la correspondance inédite du marquis de Gallo ambassadeur du roi de Naples," *Revue des études historiques*, LXXXIX (1923), 197-98.

Majesty, and by which His Majesty should retain the Island of Malta, the Sum of one Hundred thousand Pounds might be distributed as Secret Service."¹³ In return for Malta, he continued, Elba might be guaranteed to France and the king of Etruria might be acknowledged. The foreign secretary ignored the suggestion in regard to St. Domingue but echoed Whitworth's recommendation that he say nothing about the business to anyone except Addington and Liverpool. In closing he directed the ambassador to avoid committing the government on these points, although he should make efforts "to procure every information respecting them." His official dispatch of five days later merely expressed the king's "surprise" over the treatment accorded Whitworth at the Tuileries reception and approved the ambassador's proposal to speak to Talleyrand about it.¹⁴ Hawkesbury displayed no indignation.

Whitworth was naturally gratified with the response to his secret letter. In indicating his satisfaction, however, he demurred at the sum of £100,000.¹⁵ The needs were greater than had been anticipated. The Bonaparte family could not alone overcome the "Violence and obstinacy" of the First Consul. It was judged advisable to gain over Talleyrand as well, and he would be "sounded" in a day or two. "Should this expense be considerable [declared Whitworth], we are at least sure that that of one campaign or even a long continuance of the present demonstration, would be infinitely greater." The business should be considered from the standpoint of the money saved rather than of the money expended. Thus he wrote on March 21. In his next secret letter, March 24, Whitworth reverted to the subject after announcing that Joseph rather than Lucien had been sounded, because it was thought that Joseph could work better with Talleyrand.¹⁶ Although Joseph was found to be well disposed, many other persons in the highest places had to be won over also. Since they were "all partaking the Pillage of this country," no "common Bribe" would tempt them. "I have no fixed Idea of what Sum may be necessary;—but on calculating what we may expend in one month of War, the sacrifice of a Million, or even two Millions, would be economy." At all events Whitworth wanted his government to regard the business of buying off the French as a "great Operation of State" by which the "Blessing of Peace" might be insured for years.

In none of these letters did the ambassador disclose the identity of the

¹³ Hawkesbury to Whitworth, Downing Street, Mar. 17, 1803, draft, separate and most secret and confidential, cipher to the end, British Museum, Add. MSS., 38238, 104-105 ff.

¹⁴ Browning, pp. 134-35.

¹⁵ Whitworth to Hawkesbury, Paris, Mar. 21, 1803, separate, most secret and confidential, in cipher, Add. MSS., 38238, 106-109 ff.

¹⁶ Same to same, Paris, Mar. 24, 1803, separate, most secret and confidential, in cipher, *ibid.*, 111-112 ff. The last four lines of this letter have not been decoded.

person through whom he was working in Paris. He seems to have determined not to give the name until some tangible results of his activities could be announced. An interview between himself and Joseph Bonaparte, which will be discussed below, provided a suitable occasion to enlighten Hawkesbury on this point. In a secret letter recounting this interview Whitworth said the man was "M. Huber, who first suggested to me the possibility of establishing . . . a [peace] party; who brought me the first information from the friend of Lucien; and who, from his habits of intimacy with many considerable people here, and particularly with M. Talleyrand, possesses the means of rendering himself highly useful."¹⁷ The ambassador plainly expected Hawkesbury to know Huber personally or at least by reputation. This expectation was not unwarranted, for Bartholomew Huber, a Swiss by origin (he called himself an English Swiss in 1788),¹⁸ had long moved in high circles in London and Paris. Rumor had it that he was a natural son of Necker.¹⁹ In the summer of 1789 he had kept Lord Auckland informed of events in the French capital.²⁰ In the spring of 1803 it was Huber above all who promoted the cause of the secret negotiations to maintain the Anglo-French peace. Even after the departure of Whitworth and the declaration of war he continued for several weeks to visit Joseph Bonaparte, Talleyrand, and others.²¹ It is necessary at this point to relate how Huber's use of his connections in Paris led to the interview between Whitworth and Joseph Bonaparte. The details are involved, yet without them the picture is incomplete.

In all likelihood Hawkesbury's secret letter of March 17, authorizing Whitworth to follow up the proposal in regard to bribing the French, reached the ambassador by March 20 or 21. Presumably the ambassador immediately informed Huber of its contents. The secret agent could now get down to

¹⁷ Same to same, Paris, Mar. 31, 1803, secret and confidential, Yonge, I, 110.

¹⁸ Huber to Auckland, Nov. 28, [1788], *Journal and Correspondence of William, Lord Auckland* (London, 1861-62), II, 250.

¹⁹ Paris police report, May 21, 1803, F. V. A. Aulard, ed., *Paris sous le Consulat* (Paris, 1903-1909), IV, 92.

²⁰ See his letters in Auckland, *Journal and Correspondence*, II, 320-59.

²¹ See his letters to Whitworth: May 16, 1803, incomplete, Add. MSS., 38571, 36-37 ff.; May 17, 1803, Browning, pp. 265-69; May 28-June 1, 1803, in his own hand, unsigned, Add. MSS., 38238, 155-60 ff. Unlike other British subjects in France, Huber was not thrown into prison by Napoleon after war began, and consequently was able in the summer of 1803 to make his way back to England. At Knole, August 14, 1803, Whitworth wrote to Hawkesbury concerning him as follows: "Mr. Huber has expressed to me his regret at not having succeeded in rendering his services acceptable to your Lordship. Your Lordship will permit me to repeat that they were highly useful to me, although not successfully exerted; and indeed so much so, that had I remained longer at Paris I should have undoubtedly recommended him to your Lordship for some remuneration on that account. Since my return he has been exposed to much personal inconvenience, and incurred much expense on account of those services; and I must confess to your Lordship that if no indemnification is to be made to him by Government, either in money or in employment, I shall conceive myself bound at least to reimburse him, if he will accept it from me, not only such expenses, but also that which he has been put to by his forced journey from Paris hither." Browning, p. 292.

business. In laying plans for their peace campaign behind the scenes, he and Whitworth decided to attempt to enlist the services of Victor Pierre Malouet. Huber had been acquainted with Malouet for twenty-five years and Whitworth knew him by reputation. Like Huber, Malouet had long moved in high circles in France and England.²² An intendant of marine under the Old Regime, he became in 1789 a prominent member of the National Constituent Assembly. After the September massacres in 1792 he fled to London. For a time, during its ill-starred effort to conquer St. Domingue, the Pitt government recognized Malouet as agent of that colony and paid him a salary.²³ In 1797, encouraged by the peace negotiations of that year, the former intendant advocated a plan for Anglo-French co-operation in restoring the old colonial system in the sugar islands.²⁴ The plan failed, but it was revived in a sense in 1801 when Napoleon obtained the consent of the Addington government to his sending a large force to St. Domingue.²⁵ By March, 1803, the whole world knew that the Leclerc expedition had fared badly and that it had no chance of success if war were resumed between Great Britain and France. Consequently Malouet, once the recipient of lucrative revenues from his St. Domingue plantations and now living in retirement on a pension from the French government, had every reason to desire the continuation of peace. His very poverty made him peculiarly vulnerable to the offer of a bribe. To all appearances Whitworth and Huber had selected their man well.

Huber called on Malouet on the morning of March 22 and apparently lost no time in stating what was on his mind. He inquired whether Malouet knew "quelque honnête homme influant attaché à son pays et ami de la paix." Upon receiving an affirmative answer, Huber requested to be put in touch with such a man. Malouet wanted to know the purpose. Huber explained

²² *Mémoires de Malouet* (2 vols., 2d ed., Paris, 1874) trace his career down to 1800. Malouet died in 1814 as minister of marine and colonies under Louis XVIII.

²³ The Public Record office in London contains more than a hundred letters and memoirs addressed by Malouet to the British ministers. His activities as colonial agent are touched upon in *Mémoires de Malouet*, II, chap. 21; C. L. Lokke, "Malouet and the St. Domingue Mulatto Question in 1793," *Journal of Negro History*, XXIV (1939), 381-89; *id.*, "St. Domingue in Anglo-Spanish Diplomacy in 1795," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XVI (1936), 250-57.

²⁴ *Mémoires de Malouet*, II, 291; V. P. Malouet, *Collection de mémoires et correspondances officielles sur l'administration des colonies* (5 vols., Paris, 1802), IV, 33-34. See also Malouet's five-page memoir entitled "Observations sur la négociation relative aux colonies françaises," of which the Public Record Office has two signed copies (War Office, 1/67, 569-73 ff., and Foreign Office, 27/51), and a brief "Project d'adresse pour être envoyé avec la permission du gouvernement à mes amis du corps législatif et être lu en séance publique" (Gifts and Dep., Chatham Papers, 8/349).

²⁵ Some years ago I attributed the conception of Anglo-French co-operation in this matter to Jefferson's influence (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIII, 326). I now suspect but cannot prove that the idea of co-operation came also from Malouet, who returned to France in the fall of 1801. In any case Napoleon showed his willingness to adapt to his own purposes Malouet's views in regard to making use of the children of Toussaint Louverture. See my article "A Plot to Abduct Toussaint Louverture's Children," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, XXI (1936), 47-51.

that he was the bearer of a communication from Whitworth which could not at first be official. Malouet then asked why the ambassador did not discuss the matter with Joseph Bonaparte. His visitor caught at this idea and requested to be introduced to Joseph. Malouet was not personally acquainted with the First Consul's brother, but he agreed to get a friend to take Huber to Joseph. In return he asked for assurances that Huber was not involving him (Malouet) directly or indirectly in "some political intrigue." The secret agent not only gave the assurances—after putting Malouet on his honor, he divulged the plan for the secret negotiations. This procedure on Huber's part suggests that he hoped with Malouet's aid to form a peace party with which to bend the will of Napoleon.

Malouet took prompt action. That same day he threw on paper his conversation with Huber, using the dialogue form to give it vividness, and addressed the communication to Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely with the request that he present it to Joseph Bonaparte.²⁶ Regnault also acted promptly. It thus happened that when Whitworth wrote to Hawkesbury on March 24, he could announce that Joseph Bonaparte had been sounded. The ready aid of Malouet and Regnault in accomplishing this result evidently convinced the ambassador that the peace could be saved if he had the million or two he asked for to distribute among these and other Frenchmen. It should be stated that Malouet rebuked Huber during their conversation on March 22 for proposing to gain his end through bribery, but the documents at hand disclose no such delicacy on the part of any of his countrymen who participated in this affair.²⁷ In rejoinder to Malouet, Huber expressed his doubt that Malouet himself was so scrupulous as he tried to appear.

²⁶ Mardi 30 ventose [an 11] (Tuesday, March 21, 1803), in his own hand, unsigned, Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, mémoires et documents, France, vol. 1808, 93-95 ff. This date is a contradiction as 30 ventose fell on Monday rather than on Tuesday. It seems reasonable to assume that Malouet was more likely to be correct concerning the day of the week than the day of the month, and consequently that he wrote the letter on Tuesday, March 22, 1803. A significant passage from this letter reads: "[Malouet] qu'avés vous donc à proposer qui exige tant de sinuosités— [Huber] d'abord des sacrifices d'argent— [Malouet] des sacrifices d'argent me paraissent fort insuffisans dans une affaire d'honneur— [Huber] aussi avons nous bien pensé que le 1^{er} Consul n'accepteroit qu'une compensation d'avantages positifs évidens qui pussent de part et d'autres consolider la paix lier les deux nations mais l'argent ne gâte rien et vous ne croyés pas que ce supplément à dédaigner—d'ailleurs tout ce qui pourroit plaire à bonaparte et à sa famille, le concours sincère de l'angleterre à l'appui de son gouvernement la reconnaissance de tous ses établissemens en Italie, de tous ses arrangemens politiques sur le continent; rien ne couteroit au Ministère anglais pour conserver la paix sans perdre Malthe: pourrés vous me mettre à même de conférer sur tout cela avec Joseph ou son ami car en vous confiant ce qu'il y a de plus important de plus secret dans cette affaire il cet cependant des détails sur lesquels je ne m'explique pas parceque je sens bien que vous n'avés rien à me repondre qui peut me diriger ou m'éclairer."

²⁷ In a letter to Joseph Bonaparte (21 germinal an 11, April 11, 1803, *ibid.*, 97-99 ff., Regnault spoke of being dejected ("Je suis vraiment malheureux") because of his debts and the failure of Napoleon to appreciate his devoted services in the council of state. As these remarks are sandwiched in between an account of Huber's goings and comings, one naturally wonders if Regnault was trying indirectly to justify his willingness to accept a British bribe.

By March 24, it seems evident, Huber had talked with Joseph Bonaparte personally and found him well-disposed toward secret negotiations. The next step was to bring Whitworth and Joseph together. For some unexplained reason six more days passed before such a meeting took place. Whitworth may have been alluding to the delay when on March 26 he wrote privately to Hawkesbury as follows: "I can give Your Lordship by this opportunity no new light on the probable event of the discussion now on foot."²⁸ A note from Regnault to Joseph, dated March 28, indicates that he (Regnault) was doing what he could to arrange a favorable meeting between the ambassador and the First Consul's brother.²⁹ Both Whitworth and Joseph agreed in advance not to discuss money terms, lest such a topic cause embarrassment.³⁰ Things were smoothed out still further when Whitworth, through the ubiquitous Huber, took the precaution of obtaining beforehand Talleyrand's approval of his projected conference with Joseph. The foreign minister gave it readily enough. He wanted two days, however, to consider joining forces with the peace party, even though he was given to understand that "very considerable pecuniary advantages" might be derived for himself—if things went the British way.³¹

Whitworth and Joseph met on March 30. There is no need to recount here the details of their conversation—Whitworth's report on it covers more than three printed pages.³² Suffice it to say that nothing definite was settled in regard to the point at issue. The ambassador, protesting his sincere desire to "avert the calamities of war," appealed to Joseph as the negotiator of the Treaty of Amiens and a "friend of peace" to help solve the difficulties which were causing friction between their respective countries. Joseph, on his part, expressed the same sentiments in regard to peace but also no hope of peace unless Great Britain executed the treaty as regards Malta. Napoleon, he said,

²⁸ Add. MSS., 38743, 157–58 ff. This letter refers also to the recovery of Whitworth and his family from the grippe and the unfortunate necessity with which they were faced of moving to a new residence because of the lease on their present residence had expired. It annoyed the ambassador to observe that the public was interpreting his change of residence as a sign of the continuation of peace. In London, too, the public was quick to draw conclusions (*London Times*, Mar. 30, 1803).

²⁹ Paris, le 7^e Gal lundi an 11 de la République, 8.h.d.s. (Monday, 8 P.M., Mar. 28, 1803), Arch. Aff. Etr., mém. et doc., France, vol. 1808, 96 f. The note reads as follows: "Il est Important que J'aye l'honneur de parler ce soir, ou demain avant dix heures au Sénateur J. Bonaparte J'ai outre une Réponse à lui donner, & un Bt de L.[ord] W.[hitworth] à luy annoncer, quelque chose D'Intéressant à connoître avt sa conference avec L.[ord] W.[hitworth] Je le prie de me faire dire quand Je le hono[r]erai, mais dans tous les cas de donner des ordres pour que Je s[er]ais admis chès luy demain entre 9 & 10. h.

Je luy renouvelle l'assur^t des sentimens qu'il me connoit pour luy
R[egnault]"

³⁰ Yonge, I, III.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 110–11.

³² Whitworth to Hawkesbury, secret and confidential, Paris, Mar. 31, 1803, *ibid.*, 111–14. The complete letter runs pp. 110–14.

felt honor-bound to insist on the evacuation of the island, particularly after the king's message on March 8. If he forfeited his honor, he would forfeit the only hold he had on the confidence of France.

Before plunging into the details of this conference, Whitworth declared to Hawkesbury that he could see nothing "to justify any very sanguine expectation" of Joseph's "successful interference" in maintaining the peace. Still he gave every indication that he regarded the conference as merely preliminary. At the close of his letter he remarked further: "Your Lordship will perceive from this sketch of my first conversation that no great hope is given of a change in the First Consul's determination; but a direct and confidential intercourse is established with Joseph Bonaparte, who has free access to him when he pleases, who certainly has, if not great influence, at least all the advantages which temper and moderation must always have on violence and passion." Once again Hawkesbury was prodded in regard to the large sum of money needed. In Whitworth's opinion the British would have to make up their minds to be "more than liberal."

The meeting between Whitworth and Joseph Bonaparte launched the secret negotiations in earnest. In fact, from now on these negotiations were merged with the official negotiations, for Talleyrand, who in the role of foreign minister conducted the formal relations of his government with the British ambassador, soon began to participate in the secret meetings. There is no indication that Hawkesbury ever authorized Whitworth to use more than £100,000 in bribes.³³ There is no indication that any money at all changed hands. Nevertheless, during those anxious weeks in April and early May the members of the peace party in Paris—Whitworth, Talleyrand, Joseph Bonaparte, Huber, Malouet, Regnault, and finally Fouché³⁴—worked tirelessly hand in glove in what proved to be a vain effort to persuade Napoleon to change his mind about Malta. The London *Times* spoke more truly than it knew when, after the declaration of war and the publication of portions of the Hawkesbury-Whitworth official correspondence,³⁵ it declared: "If we have been *too* patient, we now have the reward of our forbearance, in the

³³ In an undated, unsigned letter to Regnault, probably written on April 11, Malouet reported on a conference with Huber in which the latter declared that the British were willing to pay something for a temporary cession of Malta but less than they would for a cession in full sovereignty. Arch. Aff. Etr., mém. et doc., France, vol. 1808, 110–11 ff.

³⁴ Huber described the activities of the future minister of police as follows: "Fouché, Senator, a very different man from those just named [Joseph Bonaparte, Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, and Malouet] in point of morality, stands notoriously high in point of abilities, energy and independence of mind; he has on this occasion been a bold and loud advocate for peace, and alone has dared to combat the Consul's mistaken pride and ambition." Huber to Whitworth, Paris, May 3, 1803, Browning, p. 210.

³⁵ London *Times*, May 19, 1803. For the same version of this correspondence see *Annual Register*, 1803, pp. 652–734.

general conviction that EVERY THING HAS BEEN TRIED" to maintain the peace.³⁶

Yet the statement cannot be accepted as entirely true. The Addington cabinet neglected to try one line of approach that might have succeeded in averting war, namely, warning Napoleon before the king's message was sent to parliament.³⁷ Had this been done, the First Consul would have had a chance to make concessions without losing face. But once the message was sent and made public, the eyes of every informed person in western Europe were riveted on the Tuileries to see the effect on the master of France. Whitworth obviously went to the palace on March 13 for this purpose. The air was tense with excitement. In such a situation a man of Napoleon's temperament could hardly have done otherwise than to hurl a threat in return. The die was now cast. After March 13 neither party to the negotiations could have made any real concessions without appearing to fear war. Each side sought in vain to bluff the other into backing down. Thus both official and unofficial negotiations were abortive. The secret British correspondence makes it plain that Hawkesbury for a time hoped and Whitworth for a much longer time believed that they could gain their end through bribery. As late as May the latter could write of Napoleon: "He certainly does require every degree of management in dealing with him."³⁸ By then the First Consul had prepared for war by recalling the Decaen expedition to India and selling Louisiana to the United States. His British antagonists, on the other hand, appear to have gained nothing from the last two months of negotiations except the satisfaction of knowing that they had, according to their lights, left no stone unturned to serve their country.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, May 20, 1803.

³⁷ On the morning of March 8, Hawkesbury did give Andréossy, the French ambassador, a copy of the message (Deutsch, pp. 127-28), but he knew, of course, that Andréossy had no time to communicate with Paris before the message was read in parliament in the afternoon.

³⁸ Whitworth to Hawkesbury, Paris, May 4, 1803, Browning, pp. 220-21.

Retaliation for the Treatment of Prisoners in the War of 1812

RALPH ROBINSON*

IT was on the thirteenth day of October, 1812, that the battle of Queenston was fought. Although the American forces gained the initial success in this engagement, the refusal of their compatriots, in plain view across the narrow Niagara River, to reinforce them and the arrival of enemy troops from nearby Fort George turned the tide and left the British victors with a large number of prisoners in their hands.

Among these prisoners twenty-three men were alleged by their captors to be British subjects and were singled out to be sent to England for trial on a charge of treason—viz., bearing arms against the king.¹ It was then the common law in England, to remain unchanged for another half century, that everyone born a British subject remained one until his death, and the right to change this allegiance by becoming a naturalized citizen of another country was not recognized.²

Such a policy was manifestly at variance with the interests of a new and unsettled country. The Constitution of the United States provided for the establishment of a uniform rule of naturalization, and Federal statutes had been in operation since 1790. The policies of the two countries with respect to allegiance were, therefore, in diametric opposition, and the conflicting claims arising in their pursuit framed the issue of the War of 1812. Accordingly it was quite in order that a protest should have been entered in behalf of the twenty-three men.

The first to champion their cause was Winfield Scott, himself one of the prisoners captured at Queenston. Scott, then a lieutenant colonel and twenty-six years of age, remonstrated with the British for their treatment of his companions in arms, but his action was unavailing and the men were sent to England.³ Scott, however, having been returned shortly thereafter to the United States on parole, went to Washington and informed John Armstrong, Secretary of War, of their plight. This was followed by an appeal from the

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¹ *American State Papers: Foreign Relations*, III (Washington, 1832), 634.

² Report of British Commission on Naturalization, 1868 (Peabody Library, Baltimore).

³ Winfield Scott, *Autobiography*, p. 73.

men themselves, stating that they were naturalized citizens of the United States and had wives and children residing there.⁴

Although the President had been authorized by act of Congress to practice reprisals, it was not until May, 1813, that the administration took action. Armstrong then directed Major General John Dearborn, in command of the American forces on the Niagara frontier of the Canadian border, "to put into close confinement twenty-three British soldiers, to be kept as hostages, for the safe keeping and restoration (on exchange)" of the Americans and to communicate the fact to the British commander in chief in Canada, Sir George Prevost.⁵ Upon being so informed, Prevost wrote to Lord Bathurst, British minister for the colonies, who, replying at some length, pointed out that the twenty-three men taken prisoners at Queenston had been sent home "that they might be disposed of according to the pleasure of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, they having declared themselves," so he asserted, "to be British born subjects." He then directed Prevost "forthwith to put in close confinement forty-six American officers and non-commissioned officers, to be held as hostages for the safe keeping of the twenty-three British soldiers," who had been put in confinement by Dearborn, and to notify him "that if any of the said British soldiers shall suffer death" because the soldiers sent to England should be found guilty of treason and in consequence executed, he should apprehend "as many as may double the number of British soldiers who shall have been so unwarrantably put to death, and cause such officers and non-commissioned officers to suffer death immediately."

Thus it was proposed in retaliation to exact the death of American officers and non-commissioned officers, two for one, for the death of each British soldier in the ranks. Moreover, Dearborn was to be informed, wrote Bathurst, that should the American government "not be deterred from putting to death" any of the hostages in retaliation, "His Majesty's armies and fleets on the coasts of America have received instructions to prosecute the war with unmitigated severity against all cities, towns, and villages belonging to the United States, and against the inhabitants thereof."⁶

When this letter was received by Prevost, Dearborn was no longer in command of the American forces. Incapacitated by obesity and failing health, which compelled him to move about in a vehicle built to accommodate him and which was later known by his name to farmers throughout the United States, Dearborn was relieved of his command. He was replaced by Major General James Wilkinson, a man whose natural ability was neutralized by a stormy and unsavory career in the Army, and to him Prevost sent Bathurst's

⁴ Henry Kelly to the Secretary of State, *American State Papers: F. R.*, III, 635.

⁵ *Ibid.* ⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 640-41.

letter. Wilkinson at once forwarded it to Madison, but not before making a spirited reply to Prevost in which he declared that the government of the United States "cannot be 'deterred' by any considerations of life or death, of depredation or conflagration, from the faithful discharge of its duty to the American nation."⁷

The President at once directed General Mason, American commissioner of prisoners, to put in close confinement all the British commissioned officers of every rank who were prisoners in the states of Massachusetts, Kentucky, and Ohio, in "order to secure a sufficient number of hostages, to answer in their persons for the proper treatment of a certain number of American officers now in possession of the enemy, on whom the British authorities have recently threatened to exercise a severity unknown to civilized warfare, and outraging humanity."⁸

Following this action, Wilkinson wrote Prevost that he was "commanded by the President" to inform him that "adhering unalterably to the principle and purpose declared in the communication of General Dearborn . . . on the subject of the twenty-three American soldiers, prisoners of war, sent to England to be tried as criminals," forty-six British officers had been ordered into close confinement and would "be immediately put to death in case of the putting to death of the forty-six American officers commissioned and non-commissioned officers . . . and that they will not be discharged from their confinement until it shall be known that the forty-six American officers . . . are no longer confined."⁹ The letter closed with a threat of "such exemplary retaliations as may produce a return to . . . legitimate modes of warfare," should the British fleet carry into effect the instructions which Bathurst said had been issued to it.

Meanwhile the irritation and apprehension of the Americans were increased by the seizure of fifty-nine men of the 14th Regiment, captured by the British at Beaver Dams in June, 1813, and their deportation to England on the claim that they were British subjects.¹⁰ Thereupon orders were issued to confine fifty-nine British soldiers taken by General Harrison at the Battle of the Thames, who were to be held for the safety and proper treatment of the fifty-nine Americans sent overseas.¹¹

This brought the number of officers and common soldiers held as hostages in close confinement by the United States to 128.

All these incidents were accompanied by a lengthy correspondence between General Mason and Colonel Thomas Barclay, the British officer residing in the United States who was charged with the care and exchange

⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 635-36.

⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 636.

⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 637.

¹⁰ Barclay to Mason, *ibid.*, III, 656.

¹¹ Mason to Barclay, *ibid.*, III, 660.

of British prisoners, replete with charges and countercharges of the hardships endured by these officers and men kept in confinement, which furnishes convincing evidence that the situation had become intolerable and that both sides would be only too glad to have it relieved.¹²

The first break came in the early winter of 1814. Among the prisoners held by the British in close confinement at Beauport, just out of Quebec, was Brigadier General William H. Winder, who had been captured at the Battle of Stoney Creek in June of the previous year. Efforts to effect his exchange had been unsuccessful—a failure to be accounted for, no doubt, by the request of Lieutenant Colonel John Harvey, whose troops had effected his capture.

“Be careful of exchanging *Genl. Winder*,” wrote Harvey. “He possesses more talent than all the rest of the Yankee Generals put together.” Nevertheless, in January, 1814, Winder was given a sixty-day parole with leave to return to the United States.¹³ This unusual privilege was conferred because, as Sir George Prevost claimed, Winder had expressed “his hopes of succeeding in inducing his Government to waive the course of proceeding which they [had] adopted and to put an end to the whole question [of hostages], at least in the form of retaliation.”

Indeed, Winder is represented as giving assurances of his “strong conviction that the ground taken by His Government . . . cannot be supported and of his confident hope of being able to place the subject in that point of view as shall induce them to retrace their steps and leave the question in the state in which it was placed by the confinement of the British subjects taken in arms and sent to England.”¹⁴

Winder was to continue during his parole in the status of hostage, returning to Quebec at its expiration. He arrived in Baltimore on January 27th and left the next day for Washington, but was unsuccessful in his efforts to get the required assurance that the Madison administration would relinquish the “retaliatory system” and on March 22 he was back in Quebec and again in confinement as a hostage.

Before he reached Quebec, however, the Madison administration underwent a change of heart, for on March 19 the President conferred authority on Winder to propose an immediate exchange of all or any of the officers or

¹² *Ibid.*, III, 633 ff.

¹³ Harvey to Baynes, June 11, following Winder's capture at Stoney Creek. *Documentary History of the Campaign upon the Niagara Frontier in the Year 1813*, Ernest A. Cruikshank, coll. and ed. (Welland, 1896), VI, 68.

¹⁴ Prevost to Bathurst, Jan. 13, 1814, no. 124. Photostat copies of the correspondence between Prevost and Bathurst herein referred to are in the Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, PRO, London CO 42, Vol. 156.

men, whether held as hostages or as ordinary prisoners. Previous to his entering upon these negotiations, Monroe in a letter to Prevost suggested and solicited Winder's "exchange for any British officers whose value shall be equal to his." He was not, however, to re-enter military service until the British officers so selected "shall have arrived in Canada." Moreover, four British officers were given parole for three months, with permission to return to Canada "as well in return for the indulgence shown by you to General Winder as because some of them have Families whom they expressed a strong desire to visit."¹⁵

This proposal receiving Prevost's assent, Winder now went from Quebec to Montreal, where he met Edward Baynes, adjutant general to Prevost and selected by him to represent the British in the arrangements to be made. Their efforts resulted on April 16 in a "convention" providing for the mutual exchange of prisoners with permission for them after May 15 to enter again the military and naval services of their respective countries. Expressly excepted, however, were "the first three and twenty men put into confinement on principles of retaliation, as hostages by the United States (for the 23 men deported to England, following the Battle of Queenston) and the officers and non-commissioned officers put into confinement by Prevost in retaliation."¹⁶

The negotiations were conducted between Winder and Baynes through the medium of a correspondence couched in the language of formal diplomatic communications.¹⁷

After the convention had been executed on April 16, Monroe received information from the American commissioner general of prisoners in London that the twenty-three Queenston prisoners were receiving treatment in no wise differing from that accorded other prisoners confined in England, and thereupon concluded that the plan to put them on trial for treason had been abandoned.¹⁸ Winder by this time being on the point of returning to military service, Monroe appointed Tobias Lear to reopen negotiations looking to the release of the twenty-three British soldiers held as hostages in retaliation by the Americans. This was finally accomplished by a supplemental convention drawn up and executed by Lear and Baynes, who again represented the British interests, on July 16, whereby the release of these men and forty-six American officers held as hostages in retaliation by the British was agreed to.¹⁹

But the exchange of the twenty-three men sent to England after the Battle

¹⁵ Same to same, May 16, no. 154, forwarding a copy of Monroe's letter written on March 19.

¹⁶ Same to same, May 16, no. 154, enclosing a copy of "*The Convention*."

¹⁷ For correspondence between Winder and Baynes, see *Richardson's War of 1812*, Alexander C. Casselman, ed. (Toronto, 1902), pp. 274 ff.

¹⁸ Beasley to Monroe, *American State Papers: F. R.*, III, 727.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 728.

of Queenston was again expressly excluded. They remained there until repatriated under the provisions of the Treaty of Ghent.

On July 9, 1815, two having died from natural causes, twenty-one landed in New York and among those who witnessed their arrival was the American officer who first interceded in their behalf. Brevetted major general for meritorious services on the Canadian border, where he had been severely wounded, and destined for a long and distinguished career in the Army, Winfield Scott was departing for a visit to England and the Continent.²⁰

Whether Bathurst spoke for his government when he declared that the twenty-three men would be tried for treason and executed may be questioned. If he did, then there is no reason to doubt that the retaliatory measures taken by the Madison administration saved them from such a fate.

Developments of great moment to General Winder followed his negotiation of the convention for an exchange of prisoners with Baynes. It brought him in contact with Madison and Monroe, and so favorably were they impressed with him and with his military record on the Canadian border prior to his capture at Stoney Creek that upon his own exchange and return to military service he was put in command of a new military district which included Washington, Baltimore, and Annapolis, and entrusted with the task of gathering and organizing the forces required to defend these cities from the British, who, it was apprehended, were about to land an army in Maryland.

And thus when the British did march upon Washington, General Winder commanded the troops that joined battle with them at Bladensburg and suffered a defeat attended with incidents that administered a lasting sting to our national pride.

²⁰ Scott, p. 81.

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General History

MR. JUSTICE HOLMES. By *Francis Biddle*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1942. Pp. 214. \$2.50.)

THIS sketch of one of the most individual characters in all legal history does not assume to be a definitive biography. But, because of the close relations of its author, the present United States Attorney General, to his subject, as one of the long procession of secretaries whom Justice Holmes selected annually from the graduating class of the Harvard Law School, the book possibly presents a more accurate picture than more formal works are likely to do. The Justice gave out more of himself to his "young men" than he did to many others, and they saw intimately every side of him. Mr. Biddle has an ingratiating style, and he has been exceedingly felicitous, graphic, and discriminating in his report of conversations and contacts. He has also given a delightful picture of Mrs. Holmes, whose wit and individuality equaled those of her husband. It is only when he attempts to describe Holmes's philosophy that Mr. Biddle flounders, as would most others in the attempt; for even the Justice sometimes got out beyond his depth and was none too lucid or consistent in this branch of his mental process, and even Sir Frederick Pollock, in the famous correspondence, showed signs of being somewhat bewildered.

To assess Holmes's permanent place in our history is difficult. When, however, Mr. Biddle ranks him with Franklin, Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln, it is to be feared that his personal enthusiasm leads him to exaggerate. As a judge, Holmes unquestionably left an indelible mark on the progress of our constitutional law and upon the development of labor law, but only a few (if any) of his decisions could be compared with the great decisions of Marshall; and one can hardly accept John Morley's view of him as the greatest judge in the English-speaking world.

But everyone can agree that he was a great personality. Though he would have disliked the term, Holmes was essentially a Puritan and to him in this character the words of that old seventeenth century Scotchman Robert Baillie might have been applicable: "The humor of this people is very various and inclinable to singularities, to differ from the world, and from one another, and shortly from themselves." And Mr. Biddle has pointed out that he was dominated by Puritan tradition that insisted on the Calvinistic acceptance of the daily duty—hard work, an open mind, and a fighting spirit.

Singularly paradoxical, however, was the position which Holmes held in the mind of the general public, for few of our great men have had fewer personal

contacts with the public. He lived to a large extent in a world of his own—of reading, thinking, and philosophizing. He was curiously aloof from the ordinary activities of life; he read few newspapers; he rarely made a speech in public; he took no part in social or economic organizations or movements; he read little on economic or political subjects; he was not interested in sports, though he loved the theater (chiefly at levels below the classic). He delighted in his friendships, but their scope was limited. On the other hand, few men had a greater zest for life. He never lost his sense of fun nor (be it said) his delight in ladies of grace, beauty, and wit. His talk, wrote Harold J. Laski, “was an exciting adventure, flashing wit, eager in its insistent quest for truth.”

He always saw the law as a thing of human life and human nature and not as a matter of mere logic and theory. He had an instinct for the realities and he balked at the tyranny of formulas. He abhorred the trite, but sometimes to such an extent that, in straining for the flashing word, he became cloudy in meaning though brilliant in expression. Possessing a skeptical philosophy, he did not allow it to hamper him, and his consistency could often be challenged.

He had a passion for freedom, and, therefore, his decisions on the civil rights of individuals appealed to the liberals. It is paradoxical, however, that because of his dissenting opinions upholding social and economic state legislation, he should have acquired in the public mind the reputation of the great champion of liberal ideas; for he probably privately regarded most of these laws as politically unsound and economically unwise, since most of them tendered to curb and repress individual rights. But it was the power of the state to experiment and not the legislation itself which he defended; and, as Professor Chafee has said, “his judicial tolerance of legislation rests less on his belief that legislatures are usually right than on his doubt whether courts might not be equally foolish.”

Mr. Biddle does well to emphasize one phase of the Justice which was little realized by the public—the degree to which his long service and his wounds in the Civil War affected his outlook upon life to its very end, in the toughening of character and the fighting spirit. A distinguished Boston lawyer has well expressed it: “The mansions of his subconscious life were densely peopled with the dim ghosts of a past that symbolized the romance and adventure of devotion to duty and the moral beauty of sacrifice to a great cause.”

Altogether, this is a delightful book about a great American.

Washington, D. C.

CHARLES WARREN

JOHN BACH MCMASTER, AMERICAN HISTORIAN. By *Eric F. Goldman*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1943. Pp. xi, 194. \$2.00.)

By 1900 four of the volumes of the *History of the People of the United States* were completed, and John Bach McMaster had become “not *a* but *the* historian of the American people.” Young men and women from all over the United States

were finding a new wisdom in the word "history" and were seeking the fountain-head of this inspiration. Some men found it in Professor McMaster himself, with his dry, mordant wit, unexpected points of view, encyclopedic knowledge, marvelous memory, and iconoclastic attitude toward his predecessors in the field. Most of his students, however, had to content themselves with what they could get from the volumes of the *History*, for as a teacher Professor McMaster seldom gave of himself. His lectures were of dictaphonic monotony so far as any projection of his personality, transfer of enthusiasm, or lifting of the spirit were concerned. To a few men he opened his home and gave his friendship, rich in its inspiring warmth. To them he was a lifelong inspiration. To most of his students, however, he was a necessary evil, giving courses which they were required to take if they were to obtain a degree. Which, after all, was only fair, as that was about the relation in which they stood to him—a necessary evil, listening to courses he was required to give were he to draw his much-needed salary.

In the first four chapters of his recent biography of John Bach McMaster, Eric F. Goldman makes clear why Professor McMaster was so far removed in spirit from most of his students. It sprang from a combination of environmental conditioning and personal qualities, consisting of an early lack of independent income, an ineradicable shyness, a clear vision of human weakness, basic persistence and industry, and a complete confidence in himself which freed him from any awe of his superior officers. He had an incredibly hard task in launching a new type of history, and the need for haste and concentration was imperative if the vast canvas projected was to be covered. Later an exceptional satisfaction and completeness in his married life left him little time for outsiders.

In these chapters Mr. Goldman gives an engaging picture of Professor McMaster's forebears, his education, his early struggles to find himself, and to do the thing to which as a boy he had dedicated himself. Although trained as an engineer he had determined to write a real history of the people of his vast country, emphasizing other phases of their life than the political and military events. This ambition was motivated by the famous third chapter, on the state of the English people since 1685, in Macaulay's *History of England*. There is a piquancy, a flavor, in these pages seldom found in the biography of a man whose adventures were wholly of the mind. This pungent quality is due to the sarcastic wit, the clever turns of phrase in the citations from letters, and in the anecdotes related. Mr. Goldman has been wise in his inclusion of the salient and his omission of the trivial. The dominant note of Professor McMaster's life was diligence. The list of printed and unprinted writings and speeches shows an almost appalling industry throughout his working years.

Except for the last chapter, which deals with the closing years of Professor McMaster's life, the remaining two thirds of the biography deal with his works, particularly with the epoch-making *History of the People of the United States*. Mr. Goldman gives recognition and praise to the work as that of a pioneer, as

epoch-making and monumental, as a new approach to the writing of American history, as a revolution in our historical outlook, as the starting point for our preoccupation with the social point of view and as the precursor of our "social studies" grouping. He concludes the evaluation with this statement: "*The History of the People* can be criticized on hundreds of minor points and on the major charge that McMaster was not sure where he was going and did not know where he was when he got there. Neither did Columbus. Columbus discovered America; McMaster discovered the American social past."

Yet in the face of these generalities he devotes two thirds of the biography, plus appendixes, mainly to pointing out instances cited by critics as plagiarism, with the "deadly parallel columns" given; to criticisms of technique and method; to citations of sins both of omission and commission, with sixteen pages of minute volume-and-page lists of mistakes and misquotations. Granted that all the criticisms are well taken. McMaster was a pioneer, a pathfinder. Does one criticize Daniel Boone because he did not build a four-lane concrete highway of the Wilderness Road? Much of Mr. Goldman's space might better have been given to as meticulously citing from *The History* just how revolutionary the work really was and in what ways McMaster had opened up a new world of endeavor to students of the past. If criticism of *The History* is to be made—and no work of man's hand or brain may ever expect to be exempt—it might well be of those things growing out of personal bias and blind spots of the author, rather than laboring the obvious.

Mr. Goldman does note some of the bias and provincialism which is to be found throughout *The History*. Dr. J. L. M. Curry, in his little book *The Southern States*, written a generation ago, says that the South will go down in history in infamy unless history be rewritten from facts and documents instead of from personal bias. Charles Francis Adams II, who, unlike Henry, was able to receive some education from life, says much the same thing in his Phi Beta Kappa address "Shall Cromwell Have a Statue?" In his vitriolic hatred of Jefferson, for instance, Professor McMaster showed that in spite of the breadth of his field his interest in a subject could be intensive as well as extensive. In connection with a quotation from a letter of McMaster: "When the next volume comes out every democrat in the country will howl over Jefferson. If there ever was a demagogue, a 'straddler,' a false friend, and an implacable enemy Jefferson was one and I mean to show him up," Mr. Goldman says: "In Volumes I and II, the men McMaster liked are given intemperate praise and those he disliked are given intemperate damnation. A Hamilton was all good and a Patrick Henry was all bad, and both were whatever they were in extreme language. . . . His conception of history was not simply a guide for writing; it was something more personal, more emotional." To all real lovers of history dead people are more alive than live people and, to McMaster, Hamilton, Jefferson, and Patrick Henry though dead were still to be loved or hated much more intensely than the candidate for the next election; he knew them so much better; the secret places hidden from the

world till a man is dead were known to him, but he could not get away, in writing of them, from himself and his Northern and Civil War background and bias.

Professor McMaster's chief "blind spot," so evident in *The History*, Mr. Goldman does not perceive at all, possibly being himself likewise afflicted. Though Victor Hugo proclaimed the nineteenth century the "Century of Women," though the period from the Revolution to the Civil War, covered by *The History of the People of the United States*, was one of continued and increasing ferment concerning women, Professor McMaster, though writing of *the People*, never discovered that women are people! Books written in this country and those of foreign countries were read eagerly, upon the subjection of women, their education, their property rights, their duties, their right to speak in public, and to work for wages, in industry and the professions. Yet in *The History* half the people are practically ignored. In the eight volumes, totaling some 4,800 pages, approximately ten pages are given to mention of women.

No one could possibly imagine from reading all eight volumes that in the seventy years covered by them the groundwork was being laid, very vociferously and often violently, for the greatest revolution in the position of women that the world has ever seen. This remarkable imperviousness to the implications of the "woman movement" was seemingly constitutional with Professor McMaster and consistent with his attitude toward the women in his classes. When Claude Van Tyne, a Michigan man, fellow in American history, a dear friend and honored guest in the McMaster home, told him that he was unfair to the women, he replied, "The ladies are very nice ornaments to the class." Though before his very eyes the crystallizations, forming since the organization of primitive society, were breaking up, and regroupings of the social elements, theories, habits, and customs were promising a different world, he never seemed to sense it.

But in spite of any bias and blind spots which his admirers may deplore, John Bach McMaster remains the greatest figure in American historiography. Mr. Goldman's biography is valuable for the clear picture it presents of the man, in which is found the key to why the historian's remarkable breadth of view is sometimes accompanied by an equally remarkable narrowness of vision.

New York City

LOLABEL HOUSE HALL

GEORGE LINCOLN BURR: HIS LIFE, by Roland H. Bainton; SELECTIONS FROM HIS WRITINGS, edited by Lois Oliphant Gibbons. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1943. Pp. xi, 505. \$3.75.)

THE excellence of this tribute to Professor Burr is measured by the difficulty of the task. Admittedly the ranking medievalist of his generation, he left little tangible evidence to prove the immensity of his learning. The best of what he published is collected here, and it barely reaches four hundred pages. It includes book reviews, studies in witchcraft and persecution, his presidential address to the

American Historical Association on "The Freedom of History," the report of his findings as historical expert to the commission appointed to investigate the Venezuela-Guiana boundary dispute, and a few miscellaneous contributions to scholarly reviews. These show, it is true, that meticulous research which characterized his work. Probably each monograph represents as much effort as a whole series of less erudite histories. But it will be difficult for posterity to appreciate how very much that he lifted from the dark recesses of the past dropped back into obscurity when he died. Unless times change there is not much prospect that this will ever be recovered. However, the more we must regret what is lost, the more we may value what is so admirably preserved in this volume.

Mr. Burr's genius was for critical research rather than for historical narrative. His absolute fidelity to truth—truth of spirit and of circumstance as well as truth to fact—was one reason for his slender output. Another was that lamentable loyalty to friends whose work he revised, edited, completed, and often enough all but wrote; sorting such masses of trivia that, as Dean Hull said, he spent enough time on cancelled checks and laundry lists to have written a score of books. That generosity, however commendable in the abstract, shows here the tragic defect of its own virtue.

Professor Bainton's charming biographical sketch will appeal particularly to Cornellians to whom Mr. Burr was for sixty years a tradition as well as a distinguished scholar and a great teacher. It meets the double challenge of the complex simplicity of his personality and the almost uncanny inspiration his relentless standards (social as well as academic) held for the student. His married life is treated with a sympathetic understanding that makes comment superfluous. His teaching was at once the delight and the despair of undergraduates, especially those addicted to note-taking, which Mr. Burr did not encourage and which in his later years he made difficult if not impossible. At times he would spend the entire hour reading from some such work as Green's *Short History of the English People*, without a flicker of comment save the inflection of his voice. At times he would burst forth in an interpretation of a man or a movement that would transport his listeners across the barriers of time and place and outward circumstance into a past that seemed for the moment their one enduring reality. Not even a court stenographer could have handled such "lectures"!

Although Mr. Burr's methods might have baffled the efficiency expert, they produced results. His students have been on the faculties of practically every college in the country: Harvard, Yale, Wellesley, Williams, Vassar, Duke, Idaho, California, Stanford, Pennsylvania, Wesleyan, Missouri, and Columbia. These "living gospels," as Mr. Burr called them, have borne as faithful witness to the quality of the scholar, the teacher, the humanist, and the friend as any number of books he might have written.

Wellesley, Massachusetts

GERTRUDE RANDOLPH BRAMLETTE RICHARDS

THE LAW OF CIVILIZATION AND DECAY: AN ESSAY ON HISTORY.

By *Brooks Adams*. With an Introduction by Charles A. Beard. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1896, 1943. Pp. 349, xi. \$3.50.)

THE republication of Brooks Adams' theory of history is an event of importance to historians. Mr. Alfred Knopf judged such an event timely. Dr. Charles A. Beard judged Brooks Adams' work the best lesson from the American classics for the present generation of historians. By this judgment and by his introduction Dr. Beard repeats the attempt made by Brooks Adams' more distinguished brother Henry, half a century ago, to persuade American historians to take their profession seriously and address themselves to the problem Brooks Adams faced.

Brooks Adams explained history as a cyclical process, each civilization—the term not defined—beginning in an age of dispersion and proceeding into an age of concentration. In the first age, the first phase of the cycle, institutions are loose and weak and the “imaginative man” leads society, expressing himself in religion and in war; fear is the dominant urge in this age. In the second age, the second phase of the cycle, there is a process of centralization and the “economic man” attains to leadership, expressing himself in science and in business, especially in currency manipulation; greed has now become the dominant urge. The “law” of civilization compels a society to move from the first into the second phase of the cycle and then, continuing to operate, becomes a law of decay, as economic man, in his climactic type, the “usurer,” gradually starves his fellows until their vitality is destroyed. Thereupon new “races” appear and the cyclical process is repeated *ad infinitum*. This theory Brooks Adams applied to the Graeco-Roman and Western civilizations.

Some of his contemporaries received Brooks Adams' sally politely—for example, the reviewer in this journal (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, I, 568). But it did not convert the profession; the same reviewer gently recommended further “minute study” of the “fall of Rome” before “any very complete work . . . upon the general course of history” was undertaken. Since that time Brooks's problem, the meaning of history, has been treated by some foreign scholars, few of them professional historians.

There are important parts of Brooks's argument which have been put out of court by the increase of knowledge since his time, but there are other parts still well worthy of comparison with the products of more recent thinkers. As a determinist and a vitalist Brooks Adams anticipated Spengler, as Dr. Beard notices (pp. 3-4). Today there is a strong reaction against determinism which tends to result in vitalism becoming humanistic. But Brooks's treatment of economic matters, which Henry Adams thought akin to Marx's treatment, has recently been fairly closely paralleled by Ralph Turner in his anthropological-economic interpretation of history (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLVII, 810). Brooks's “usurer” is one type of what Ortega y Gasset calls the “mass-man,” when the mass-man rises to power. The first phase of Brooks's cycle is equivalent to Toynbee's “universal

church" and, though vaguer, is perhaps by the same token truer to the facts. Brooks's description of the two phases of his cycle is not impressive when compared with modern definitions of culture by categories, as made, for example, by MacIver or the Webers. Nevertheless, the two-phase cycle itself, which goes back to Vico, still seems to the reviewer preferable to Sorokin's three-phase cycle.

Whatever crudities and positive errors there may be in Brooks Adams' theory, he did face the supreme problem of the historian. And, if this last statement be regarded as one of opinion, the opinion is shared by Dr. Beard, by Toynbee, and presumably by most of the other scholars mentioned above. Dr. Beard says in his introduction (p. 4) that "all great human causes turn on theories of history, that all the modern revolutions which have shaken the world have been inspired by theories of history. Every piece of philosophic, economic or political writing either presents such a theory or rests upon assumptions, articulate or tacit, derived from it." In the present era of wars, revolutions, and other social struggles, then, Brooks Adams brings a pertinent message to historians.

Finally, *The Law of Civilization and Decay* presents an instructive example of the relation between the events and conditions of a period of history and the serious historiography of that period. Dr. Beard's introduction demonstrates that relation at length. He has used in part the evidence of unpublished material, namely Henry Adams' annotations upon the manuscripts made before publication of the New York and Paris editions and several letters of Brooks and Henry made available by Mr. Henry Adams of Boston, nephew of the brothers. From this portion of the introduction a thoughtful historian has an admirable opportunity to deduce the true meaning of the duty of objectivity. He may perhaps measure his own professional qualifications by his ability to make the deduction.

It is fair to add—since there is here much praise of Brooks Adams—that contemporary historians may take warning from what may be called the "romance" of Brooks's conclusion. There were, in fact, three rather different conclusions, respectively in the English, American, and French editions! (The conclusions are stated in the respective prefaces, not in the last chapter.) Now Newton (so far as is known to the reviewer) did not publish three editions of the *Principia* having three different conclusions: the apple did not shoot up to heaven, nor did it fly off tangentially to the east; it fell only and always to the ground. At least, the contrast shows that Dr. Beard is right when he says that *The Law of Civilization and Decay* is no law; at most, it shows that Benedetto Croce is right—but I cannot believe that he is altogether right—when he says that the historian should not seek to be a prophet.

Atlanta University

RUSHTON COULBORN

FORCE AND FREEDOM: REFLECTIONS ON HISTORY. By *Jacob Burckhardt*. Edited by *James Hastings Nichols*. (New York: Pantheon Books. 1943. Pp. 382. \$3.50.)

AFTER publishing his famous works on Renaissance culture before he was forty years old, Jacob Burckhardt settled into the task of teacher at the university of his native city of Basel and, though giving himself devotedly to this service for over thirty years, never published another line. His many courses dealt in one form or another with history and drew admiring hearers from all the nations of the Continent. Contrary to the academic practice of his day he did not write out his lectures but spoke freely under the guidance of notes. This explains why on his death little or no finished work was found among his papers. Chapters v and vi, dealing with "Great Men and Fortune and Misfortune in History," come nearest to meeting the requirements of a close, consecutive presentation. The rest of the text, about two thirds of the whole, consists of more or less coherent notes.

Published by his nephew over a generation ago under the title *Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen*, they now appear for the first time in English under the fantastically perverse title *Force and Freedom*. Let no historian concerned with the theory of his craft be deterred by this exhibition of bad taste from giving the closest attention to what is here offered, often unfortunately in so clipped a form as to be not easily intelligible.

Burckhardt was one of the most original minds of the nineteenth century and took a view of the historical process so different from that current in his time and still generally accepted that he ranks as an uncompromising, albeit mild and unpolemical, heretic. Thus he rejects as a working principle both the mechanical concept of progress and the biological concept of the cycle; he does not believe in the native goodness of man nor in his perfectibility; he holds that man has not developed intellectually or morally in historical times; and he considers power to be evil and hence the modern centralizing state an abomination. The three forces ruling the historical process are the state, religion, and culture (taken in its widest sense), and from the circumstance that they are never in balance results that uneasy movement, that rising and falling of societies which is the leading object of historical inquiry. Unless the historian falls back on faith, he stares into an unresolved chaos, made bearable solely by the spiritual values of the societies that have gone before and constituting, in spite of constant re-valuation, an unbroken continuum. This is the bread and wine, the eucharist, by which man lives.

The enlightening introduction by the editor is an indispensable key to the intricate text.

Michigan City, Indiana

FERDINAND SCHEVILL

TWO CURRENTS IN THE THOUGHT STREAM OF EUROPE: A HISTORY OF OPPOSING POINTS OF VIEW. By *Elmer G. Suhr*, Assistant Professor of Latin at Wittenberg College and Former Vogeler Fellow in

Archaeology and Arts in the Johns Hopkins University. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, No. 33, edited by David M. Robinson.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1942. Pp. 469. \$5.00.)

If I understand Professor Suhr's purpose correctly, his work aims at showing the differences between two tempers of mind recurring throughout European history and the consequences for thought and general culture of the prevalence of each. These two tempers he calls respectively "absolutist" and "broad intellectual," and though he begs us to regard them as extremes between which any thinker or culture may fall, in practice our author finds himself speaking about *the* absolutist, *the* broad intellectual, and what *he*—whichever it may be—wants, hopes, thinks, and does.

In the course of this elaborate dichotomy the writer picks up and adopts some older ones: Plato is an absolutist, Aristotle a broad intellectual; the former is imaginative and tender-minded, the latter is empirical and tough-minded. The allusion to William James contained in the use of his famous distinction at once brings to life another difference: that between a thinker with a grasp of the concrete, like James, and a mere dealer in formulas, like Professor Suhr. The very words change their meaning under the clumsy generalship of the merely bookish historian and write him down a blind man pretending to long sight.

For it is the regrettable truth that in spite of occasional wisdom and originality Professor Suhr's 450 pages leave the reader with little or nothing for his pains. One has a sense of having crossed a desert strewn with the bones of great ideas. The sources, the quotations, the varied topics ranging from Greek painted vases through Brahms's *First Symphony* to the Treaty of Versailles, the wordy abstractions, and the sharp, often apt, colloquialisms combine to produce a negligible result; or rather, do not combine at all, neither with one another nor with the endlessly reiterated theme of absolutist versus broad intellectual.

"The absolutist," we are told early in the book, "is one who extracts a segment from his experience and builds air castles within its limitations in terms of himself and his desires without for the most part realizing it." This is unsatisfactory enough, even when taken with an addition in diagram form showing "the absolutist with his rich, colorful nature and the enthusiasm which accompanies his thinking and expression, a thinker who extends the radii of his circle into radial lines or transforms them into tangents, reaching to any length beyond the limit of his circle." By this point we have, I think, reached full contradiction and we are ready to be told that Plato was (a) an exception to the best and most typical Greek thought and (b) the prophet of the Middle Ages.

After this, almost all that Professor Suhr asserts in his descriptive passages—his individual and national psychologizing—deadens our responsiveness with repeated doubts and finally kills conviction. Just as one fails to recognize his Plato, so one refuses to acknowledge his "Englishman," "German," "Frenchman," and "Italian," with their absolutism or the opposite, in endless transformations. This

happens precisely at the moment when the author is pretending to give us the whole man or the whole culture in a new light made possible by his analysis. Throughout, Professor Suhr suffers from the prevailing disease of intellectual history, namely, the passion for a reductive diagnosis: all the symptoms mean *This*. What does not fit the particular *This* is excluded, twisted around, or explained away, so that like many of his fellow practitioners he is quite willing, after having achieved by main force the desired classification, to enumerate details that prove it false, without on that account withdrawing it.

Perhaps it is the desire to label at all costs that brought Professor Suhr to commit such blunders as saying that Hume denied the importance of causation or that Shaw's Don Juan preferred the mischief of the lower regions to the monotony of heaven. In any case, the author's principles of interpretation and composition are as faulty as his use of particular facts, and these two faults destroy both the worth of his piled-up materials and the tenability of his thesis.

Columbia University

JACQUES BARZUN

HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES. By *R. B. Mowat*, Late Professor of History, University of Bristol, and *Preston Slosson*, Professor of History, University of Michigan. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1943. Pp. ix, 577. \$4.00.)

MOWAT and Slosson call their book "an experiment and an adventure." They refer, of course, to its unusual subject. But the public may find their method quite as welcome as their matter and hope that such an experiment will settle into practice. Here is no textbook which studies the past for its own sake or which adds to the bewilderment of our times by reducing earlier ages to a useless chronicle of events moving in accordance with some evolutionary law. The authors have looked backward in order to help the English-speaking peoples to look forward together. Certainly they have written a book for the postwar world.

Their history is not over-tendentious. The authors combine Gibbonian impartiality with a Coleridgian respect for principles. The "principles or prejudices" of Anglo-Saxon polity—personal liberty of the freeman, supremacy of law over mere executive power, and a vigorous reverence of custom—repeat themselves in the Magna Carta, the colonial governments, the Glorious Revolution, the Americans' regard for their Constitution, and in the British Commonwealth of Nations. "Continuity in change" is the authors' happy definition of the English conservative spirit, to which, as to English sea power, is due the permanence of English things. Defoe's insistence that a true-born Englishman is a contradiction becomes a touchstone with which the authors discover their mongrel with a genius for compromise wherever he roams and builds—in the British Isles, in India, in Africa, or in North America. No preaching here of Pan-Saxonism. The case for interdependence rests squarely upon the inheritance of the English-speaking peoples, upon their industrial power, their common institutions and ideals, and upon their

growing knowledge of one another. In 1941-42, the authors conclude, the salvation of mankind depended on the British Commonwealth and the United States.

Yet despite these trenchant merits, to say nothing of admirable chapters on the present empire, the volume suffers from certain traditional weaknesses of the textbook. Some of it goes over drearily conventional ground. At times it reminds one of a railway coach with seats worn threadbare by now very dead historians. Because education receives superficial treatment, the reader will scarcely know why the English-speaking peoples have thus far managed to combine conservatism with progress. Skimping of intellectual and religious history apparently explains why the analysis of nineteenth century Britain follows chapters on the United States. Perhaps that, too, accounts for calling the great Scots philosopher "Joseph" Hume.

Yale University

L. P. CURTIS

PAPERMAKING: THE HISTORY AND TECHNIQUE OF AN ANCIENT CRAFT. By *Dard Hunter*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1943. Pp. xv, 398, xxiii. \$4.50.)

THIS book on the history and technique of papermaking, addressed to the non-technical reader, presents a comprehensive and able treatment of its subject. The author is our leading authority on the history of paper and on the practice of making paper by hand, a craft which is forgotten in this country and on the wane in other countries. Mr. Hunter has a practical view of paper, having had experience in all the crafts entering into bookmaking. He is popularly known as the producer of "one-man books," for which he made the paper, cut the type punches, cast the types, set them, and printed the forms—all by hand processes.

The author has traveled widely in the South Seas and the Orient in his research in processes of papermaking by primitive peoples, and these special interests are reflected in his book. The fruits of his study and collection are represented in the Dard Hunter Paper Museum, now adequately housed in the modern buildings of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Only an enthusiast, who is likewise a good scholar, could have written this book. Hunter traces the history of paper from its invention in China in 105 A.D. down to modern times. He describes and illustrates tools and methods, in particular the moulds and equipment for maceration of fibers. He deals adequately with machines and processes of modern papermaking and reports on the active search for new materials occasioned by the vast demands for paper by contemporary printing and publishing.

Because of the close relationship between paper and printing the latter industry comes in for considerable attention throughout the book. Mr. Hunter makes a valuable contribution when he codifies the knowledge regarding the *dharani* charms, the earliest extant specimens of printing on paper, produced in Japan in 770 A.D. He describes and illustrates the four varieties and considers it likely

that they were printed in quantity from stone blocks rather than from woodcuts.

But in other references to printing history, the author is surprisingly inaccurate. Almost a quarter of his book is devoted to a chronology of papermaking and printing. The statements regarding paper are for the most part accurate; the statements regarding printing, apparently drawn from two unreliable authors, are often misleading. The date he cites for the first printing in the New World is based on unsatisfactory evidence; the certain date of 1539 is not mentioned. First printing at Goa, in India, was in 1556, not 1561. There was certainly no printing done in Cuba as early as 1696. First printing in Jamaica was in 1718, not 1708. Earliest printing in South Carolina was in 1731; two first newspapers in 1732, not 1730. The *Virginia Gazette* began publication in 1736, not 1735. The *St. Christopher Gazette* began publication in 1747, not 1741. Bartholomew Green died before his press was established at Halifax; first printing there was by John Bushell in 1752. The *East-Florida Gazette* at St. Augustine in 1783 was "printed by Charles Wright for John Wells, Jr.," not William C. Wells. A great landmark of Western history was the establishment of the *Kentucke Gazette* in 1787, not 1788. Elihu, not Elisha, Stout founded Indiana's first newspaper. There were half a dozen newspapers printed in Haiti before 1804. Joseph, not James, Charless gave St. Louis its first newspaper. Other statements do not fully reflect the known facts. And first printings in Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and New York are not mentioned. But these errors in the chronology can be corrected in the next edition. The remainder of the book makes it the best available history of paper.

Evanston, Illinois

DOUGLAS C. MCMURTRIE

THE ARABS: A SHORT HISTORY. By *Philip K. Hitti*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1943. Pp. ix, 224. \$2.00.)

THIS book, which is not for sale outside the United States, is a digest of Professor Hitti's *History of the Arabs* (2d ed., London, 1940) made by Mr. Byron Dexter with the collaboration of the author. With a newly written preface and final chapter it tells briefly for general readers the story of the Arabians and other Arabic-speaking peoples, who, in the usage of the author, are termed "Arabs."

There is an important statement on page 60: "Throughout the whole period of the caliphate the Syrians, the Persians, the Egyptians, and others, as Moslem converts or as Christians and Jews, were the foremost bearers of the torch of enlightenment and learning." On page 84 we are told that Persians, Syrians, Copts, Berbers, and others became followers of Muhammad and passed for Arabs. "An Arab henceforth became one who professed Islam and spoke and wrote the Arabic tongue, regardless of his racial affiliation." In the same paragraph the works of Christians, Jews, and Moslems are called "Arab" because they are written in Arabic. For the author, all that is Arabic in language is Arab, without reference to origin, race, country, or religion.

In accordance with this usage the book deals with the rise, expansion, and de-

dine of Islam as an Arab empire and culture in western Asia and some of the Mediterranean lands. It does not of course cover the Islamic civilization of the Ottoman Empire, the Middle East and India, and the Near East of the last few centuries.

The book is a useful introduction to medieval Arabic civilization. Many will be induced by its briefness to read it, and they will learn much of the influence of Arab (Arabic) culture upon the Western world and also see that for a century and a half economic, social, and nationalistic ideas from the West have been inspiring the Near East to new life and progress.

Some suggestions are offered for consideration before the next edition is published.

The statement on page 35 that "the Koran offers no textual uncertainties" strangely ignores the improvements of the second edition over the account of the Koran given in the first edition. The Moslems themselves early and thoroughly developed the science of the variant readings of the Koran. Special and general works deal with these variants, which are also preserved in the commentaries. The word variants are numerous and two differing versions of the whole Koran are in common use in the Moslem world. To avoid giving a wrong impression of the state of the text it could be mentioned, also on page 35, that there are several other enumerations of the contents of the Koran. Al-Suyūṭī's *al-Itqān fi 'ulūm al-qur'ān* (sound knowledge about the sciences of the Koran), chapter 19, gives an incomplete list of those who counted the verses, words, and consonants of the Koran, with their varying results.

The description of Islam (p. 38) should include the sixth article of religious faith, which is belief in the decree of good and evil and is a dominant factor in Moslem thought and conduct.

"The chief political innovation of Muhammad" (p. 82) is generally held to be his establishment of religion as the bond of affiliation for the Arabians instead of their tribal relationships.

Hartford, Connecticut

EDWIN E. CALVERLEY

MAJOR TRENDS IN JEWISH MYSTICISM. By *Gershom G. Scholem*, Professor of Jewish Mysticism, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. [The Hilda Stich Stroock Lectures, Fourth Series.] (Jerusalem: Schocken Publishing House; New York: Jewish Institute of Religion. 1941. Pp. xiv, 440.)

No one is better equipped than Professor Gershom Scholem to present us with the first comprehensive treatment of the history of Jewish mysticism. The author is careful to point out that he does not consider this work a complete history of Jewish mysticism. With all its omissions, however, it is still the only comprehensive work of this kind in any language. For over twenty years Professor Scholem has probed deeply and widely into the various trends of Jewish mysticism and has

published numerous monographs and articles on individual problems. He brings to bear also a broad comparative approach to the problems of Jewish mysticism. Now in this series of lectures, delivered at the Jewish Institute of Religion in New York City, he presents us with a synthesis of twenty years of devoted labor.

Scholem believes that mysticism arises only after institutional religion has become crystallized and after religious institutions have succeeded in creating an abyss between man and God. Mysticism then seeks to transform the idea of God from an "object of dogmatic knowledge into a novel and living experience and intuition" (p. 10). Jewish mysticism, Scholem explains, differs markedly from non-Jewish mysticism in three ways. Jewish mystics reveal a peculiar reticence in describing their supreme mystical experience. The literature of Jewish mysticism, therefore, is almost entirely lacking in religious autobiography, such as one finds, for example, in a book like James's *Varieties of Religious Experience*. Secondly, Jewish mysticism attaches an especially sacred and mystical value to language, in this case the Hebrew language. Finally, Scholem points out that Jewish mysticism is a masculine doctrine and shows no trace of feminine influence. Figures like Christina Ebner, Elsbert Stägel, Mechtilde of Magdeburg, Hildegard of Bingen, Saint Theresa, and Mme. de Chantal are non-existent in the history of Jewish mysticism. As to the reason for the powerful influence that mysticism exercised in Jewish life, as contrasted with the relatively weak force of rationalistic philosophy, Scholem rejects the explanation sought in historical circumstances. He denies that "persecution and decline weakened the spirit of the people and made them seek refuge in the darkness of mysticism because they could not bear the light of reason" (p. 23). Instead he maintains that the explanation is to be found in the more positive and concrete attitude of the Kabbalah toward the three main pillars of Jewish religious life: the Halakha, or system of religious law, the Aggadah, or realm of popular ethics and mythology, and the liturgy of the synagogue. "By interpreting every religious act as a mystery, even when its meaning was clear for all to see or was expressly mentioned in the written or oral Law, a strong link was forged between Kabbalah and Halakha, which appears to me to have been in large part responsible for the influence of Kabbalistic thought on the minds and hearts of successive generations" (p. 31).

Scholem analyzes seven major trends in Jewish mysticism: the Merkabah mysticism and Jewish gnosticism, which developed up to the tenth century A.D., and which he characterizes as "throne mysticism"; the ascetic and moralistic mysticism of Jehudah the Hasid and his circle in thirteenth century Germany; Abraham Abulafia and the doctrine of prophetic kabbalism; the theosophic system of the *magnum opus* of Jewish mysticism, *The Zohar*; Isaac Luria and his school in sixteenth century Safed; the messianic movement of Sabbatai Zevi in the seventeenth century; and the Hasidism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The chapters on Luria and Sabbatai Zevi are no doubt the most original and most challenging. Especially challenging is his analysis of Sabbatai Zevi as a manic-depressive

and his thesis that the antinomianism of Sabbatainism paved the way for later Reform Judaism. But the work as a whole is a monument of erudition and fine feeling. Not only students of Jewish history but all students of the history of religious thought will find this work a model for the scientific handling of a most complex and difficult area of human experience. A valuable bibliography is appended to the text.

Queens College

KOPPEL S. PINSON

Ancient and Medieval History

THE LEGACY OF EGYPT. Edited by S. R. K. Glanville. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1942. Pp. xx, 424. \$4.00.)

MOST of the fifteen chapters in this book were written by September, 1939, and some of the authors were not able to correct and proofread their contributions. Three of the authors are now dead; one, Professor Capart, has not been heard from since Hitler invaded Belgium, while another, Professor Seidl, was in Germany when the war began. In spite of the difficulties attending publication of such a work during these times, the editor (who writes the introduction) has been able to turn out a volume worthy to rank with the others in this well-known series of *Legacies*: Greece, Rome, Israel, Islam, India, and the Middle Ages.

Probably most readers have noticed, first of all, the unevenness in literary presentation as well as in critical and scholarly value which is usually found in such works as these. The present volume has these same faults but, so it seems to the reviewer, is much richer than any of the other volumes in the illuminating and suggestive attempts to tie up Egyptian history with that of other countries, ages, and movements: the classical period (Greek papyri), Israel, Rome, Christianity, the Byzantine Empire, Islam, and modern times. It is doubtful if any of the other *Legacies* accomplishes these purposes so successfully as this one does.

More than some of the preceding volumes, however, this one seems to have been written for two quite different types of readers: the general educated reading public on one hand and the Egyptologist on the other. The chapter on "Calendars and Chronology" is extraordinarily technical and difficult, as it probably had to be, yet Gardiner's chapter on "Writing and Literature" handles the abstruse problems of Egyptian writing and the origin of the alphabet in a way that makes the matter seem simple and unusually interesting. Capart's chapter on "Egyptian Art" is superb, of course, while Engelbach's chapter on "Mechanical and Technical Processes," though packed with a wealth of interesting facts and illustrations, is quite dry reading and not likely to attract the non-specialist. The chapters on "Science," "Medicine," and "Law" are of necessity quite technical in nature, but the two latter are treated with considerably more attention to broader implications than the first one is.

The contribution chapters are all rather short, but most of them are well done. This is especially true of those on "The Egyptian Contribution to Christianity" (Creed and O'Leary) and on "Egypt and the Byzantine Empire" (Bell). The excellent chapter on "The Greek Papyri" (Roberts) should be mentioned.

The book has a good index and many excellent illustrations, especially for the chapters on "Art" and "Technical Processes."

University of Missouri

THOMAS A. BRADY

EARLY PYTHAGOREAN POLITICS IN PRACTICE AND THEORY. By *Edwin L. Minar, jr.*, Assistant Professor of Classics, Connecticut College. [Connecticut College, Monograph No. 2.] (Baltimore: Waverly Press; distributors, Connecticut College Bookshop, New London. 1942. Pp. ix, 143. \$2.00.)

THE chief conclusion of the present study is expressed thus: "Pythagoreanism formed a sort of reactionary international, operating in various cities through clubs which were associated not only by common interest but by central control of the society at Croton" (p. 38). Such a thesis deserves serious consideration, even if not altogether acceptable, and we may feel grateful for having it brought to our attention in a well-written and thoroughly documented monograph.

The conception that the Pythagorean societies were originally in large part political organizations, intended to retain the privileges of the landed aristocracy against the rising democracy of the mercantile interests, is maintained by an intricate cumulative argument upon a broad front of biography, history, economics, politics, and philosophy and is supported by an extensive employment of analogies from other early Greek states under approximately similar conditions. Of course, such contentions bring Dr. Minar into conflict with the majority of recent specialists in the field and especially with Delatte, who has written at considerable length in the effort to minimize the political aspects of early Pythagoreanism.

Much weight is properly attached to Kahrstedt's in large part convincing arguments from coinage (in support, be it noted, of express early literary tradition, pp. 36 ff.), which indicate a considerable extension of the influence of Croton in southern Italy during the period when the Pythagoreans were especially prominent in that city. But perhaps too little is known of the precise nature of this influence, as well as of the internal government of Croton at the time, to make us feel certain that this expansionist policy was the direct consequence of a regular government by Pythagoreans, acting as an organization.

Dr. Minar feels that the Pythagorean clubs may have functioned somewhat as a "caucus" (p. 18) within the traditional framework of the political administration. But Professor von Fritz, although of course recognizing the temporary ascendancy of the Pythagoreans at Croton and elsewhere, believes that they did not act politically as a society, and this seems pretty clearly to have been the case at Tarentum in the time of Archytas. And again, Professor von Fritz's suggestive comparison of

Pythagoreanism with Freemasonry, in relation to the government, still seems to stand as a quite possible parallel in modern times.

Perhaps something more could have been made by the author out of the Pythagorean doctrine of permanent individual differences and of some of its unhappy consequences, if ruthlessly put into practice. In which connection it might be remarked that Paul Pachlatko's treatment of the topic, in a 1940 dissertation from the University of Zurich, entitled *Die Stellung der Griechen zum Problem der Verschiedenheit der Menschen*, leaves a great deal to be desired, especially in his treatment of the Pythagoreans. On the other hand, and as a parting comment, attention might well be called to the excellent manner in which the author has pointed out a number of important differences, not always recognized, between the religious thinking of the Pythagoreans and that of Orphism (pp. 125 ff.)

University of Illinois

W. A. OLDFATHER

A CISTERCIAN NUNNERY IN MEDIAEVAL ITALY: THE STORY OF RIFREDDO IN SALUZZO, 1220-1300. By *Catherine E. Boyd*, Wells College. [Harvard Historical Monographs.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1943. Pp. 189. \$2.00.)

THIS little monograph is essentially a study in the economic history of the thirteenth century. A small nunnery located in the remote reaches of the upper Po affords the documents upon which the study is based. The economic phenomenon involved is that of the influence of the expanding mercantile life of northern Italy upon its most remote rural areas. The author displays unusual powers of historical imagination and literary skill in extracting from the otherwise arid and unpromising legal documents of a monastic chartulary a very interesting study and story.

It is unfortunate, however, that the concentration of this documentary material in the chartulary of a nunnery should have influenced the author to feature the nunnery itself in the title of the work, which is not actually a history of this woman's community. As a community it was neither large nor important. It had been founded under Benedictine auspices and was transferred shortly before the middle of the century to Cistercian auspices. Though it continued to exist as a foundation to the sixteenth century, it was actually superseded by the Dominican convent founded in 1292. There is every reason to assume that Rifreddo was primarily a social and religious institution whose fundamental purposes were served equally well, subject to changing fashion, under Benedictine, Cistercian, and Dominican auspices. Perhaps lack of evidence—the author more than hints that such is the case—prevented any elaboration of the social and religious work which the nunnery performed. As it is, the only activity of the community discussed by the author is that of a certain propensity for legal entanglement with the local society, with the Cistercian Order, and even with the papacy itself.

Fortunately, in support of the author's thesis that the Cistercian Order served a transitional role between feudal society and communal society, the documents

permit her also to include a study of the records of the Cistercian monks of Staffarda, under whose supervision the nunnery existed for nearly half a century. It is from the monks, rather than from the nuns, that her thesis receives convincing support. True, the noval tithes, to which the nunnery had claim, prove the expansion of the mercantile and industrial society of northern Italy as does also the substitution of money economy for natural economy in the later decades of the century. Likewise the deficiency of lay or secular help in the later period, as evidenced by the documents, gives additional support to her main thesis. It is, nevertheless, regrettable that she was unable to discuss the social and religious work which the nuns of Rifreddo were performing. The power of her historical imagination, as displayed in economic concerns, promises possibilities like those of Eileen Power, if she will extend them more fully to include other aspects of society.

University of Minnesota

A. C. KREY

THE BUILDING OF ETERNAL ROME. By *Edward Kennard Rand*, Pope Professor of Latin Emeritus in Harvard University. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1943. Pp. xi, 318. \$3.50.)

It should be recognized at once that this book is not a contribution to history as ordinarily understood. It is a course of lectures developing an idea. This idea is, in a sense, an interpretation of history. It is also an interpretation of poetry. Poetry and history were at one time not wholly divorced, and here they meet again in a noble reconciliation.

Professor Rand is, perhaps, the most cosmopolitan scholar in the field of classics today: at home in Italy, decorated by France, master of the monastery treasures of Germany, he is, nevertheless, so thoroughly American as to write a book on an ideal. He rises far enough above the cynicism of the European world to claim boldly that ideals are more important and permanent than events and machines. This is a welcome and refreshing point of view. With a wealth of wisdom at his command, he traces through the literature of Rome and the Middle Ages the idea of Eternal Rome, founded on the high dreams of the past and striving toward the bright but unrealizable vision of the future—a vision that forever comes through the Ivory Gate.

It is, perhaps, not wholly defensible to use the moral commonplaces that the Romans, like Poor Richard, often confused with philosophy quite as seriously as Professor Rand does. It is these practical precepts which give a surface similarity to the Stoic and the Epicurean. I suspect that few Romans went deeper in their philosophy. Granting also that this is no survey of literature, is it quite fair to ignore most of Tacitus and all of Juvenal and Martial? These, too, were representative of the Roman spirit, which was keenly appreciative of the satiric vein. (Incidentally, Tacitus should not be cited for not including Augustus in a summary, in view of his promise to make good the omission in full.) The first century is difficult ground, but it was not a silent period in spite of censorship.

These are carping criticisms of unimportant minutiae. *The Building of Eternal Rome* is the generous gift of a great scholar and because it is that, it can be appreciated both by the classicist and by the larger circle of intelligent readers who would be glad of the assurance that ideals are more real than cynical realism. One could wish that his own logic had saved Professor Rand from even temporary despair of our own day. One hundred years of civil war from the Gracchi to Augustus would seem more devastating to Rome than the present catastrophe to the modern world, and the classics of Greece and Rome have recovered from desertion before today. Professor Rand cannot even with an effort, however, be a pessimist. Whether or not historians welcome his theory of poet-made policy, every intelligent reader will be inspired to a more intelligent reading of some of the world's best literature. This is, I take it, the true purpose of such a course of lectures and one that could have been accomplished only by a master.

For the literary layman there is great stimulus here to send him back to read some ancient writers whom he never knew. Polybius and Fronto are presented with a warmth and understanding that makes them new and welcome friends, no matter how much one has manhandled their texts in the past. For the historian there is nothing new in text criticism or the investigation of the facts of Roman chronology. There is, however, food for thought in the suggestions with regard to the sources of Polybius' philosophy and Livy's and Tacitus'. To this reviewer Tacitus seems to receive scant justice and Livy not too much. But these lectures were not intended to be a survey of Roman history or of Roman literature, and they were presented to a general audience. From Ennius to T. S. Eliot is a wide span in whatever terms one measures it, and it is an achievement of rare brilliance to carry successfully and in language that is itself poetry a single, constant theme through all the intervening generations and revolutions.

Yale University

C. W. MENDELL

MEDIAEVAL STUDIES, Volume IV, 1942. (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. 1942 Pp. 297.)

VOLUME IV of *Mediaeval Studies* continues to be of great value for the history of medieval thought (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLVIII, 78-80, on Vol. III) and helps answer the demand for periodical publications which, like *Sitzungsberichte*, give the scholar greater opportunities for publishing the results of research in a special field than the traditional review. In this volume, for example, one finds not only the conventional type of articles but also the continuation of the edition of Nicholas of Oresme's *Le livre du ciel et du monde* (edited by A. D. Menut and A. J. Denomy; here Book II is published; Books III and IV will appear, along with a critical apparatus, in a subsequent issue).

For the rest, the current issue presents articles on a variety of subjects. None of the studies is of a nature to arouse controversy, but nonetheless they form an interesting miscellany. Father R. J. Scollard begins "A List of Photographic Repro-

ductions of Mediaeval MSS in the Library of the Institute of Mediaeval Studies"—we need such lists, of course, from all American libraries and private collections and ultimately a general catalogue of photographic reproductions. Of obvious value is Father J. T. Muckle's compilation of "Greek Works Translated Directly into Latin before 1350; Part I—Before 1000"; checking the list as carefully as possible, I could find no omissions. Father G. B. Flahiff shows how a more or less formal censorship of books, at the request of the author, began in the second half of the twelfth century as a result of the "hotly controversial atmosphere" centering around Abelard, Gilbert de la Porrée, and Peter Lombard. The theme of religious symbolism in art and architecture is carried on by Gerhart B. Ladner ("The Symbolism of the Biblical Corner Stone in the Mediaeval West" and "An Additional Note on Hexagonal Nimbi") and by Peter H. Brierger ("England's Contribution to the Origin and Development of the Triumphal Cross").

Philosophy and theology, naturally, are emphasized in *Mediaeval Studies*. An interesting study of St. Anselm's dialectical method in relation to his theology is made by Imelda Choquette in "Voluntas, Affection and Potestas in the Liber de Voluntate of St. Anselm." Jacques Maritain, in "Spontanéité et Indépendance," continues to discuss Thomas Aquinas as the great philosopher of being—this time Aquinas' metaphysics of the degrees of being as a metaphysics of the degrees of spontaneity and independence, in which Maritain finds ample scope for the individual, human personality and liberty within the limitations set by divine necessity. Father Maur Burbach, in "Early Dominican and Franciscan Legislation Regarding St. Thomas," surveys the triumph of the doctrines of Thomas Aquinas between the years of his death and his canonization (1274–1323). Finally, Father J. R. O'Donnell maintains that Nicholas of Autrecourt tried rather to discredit Aristotle than to set up a positive doctrine for its own sake, and that Nicholas was neither a probabilist nor a denier of causality ("The Philosophy of Nicholas of Autrecourt and His Appraisal of Aristotle").

University of Wisconsin

GAINES POST

Modern European History

THE THOUSAND-YEAR CONSPIRACY: SECRET GERMANY BEHIND THE MASK. By *Paul Winkler*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1943. Pp. x, 381. \$2.75.)

THE unfortunate impression made by the title is not dispelled by reading this book. Quite the contrary. It is a tiresomely repetitious, mystical, and inaccurate indictment of an alleged secret conspirational group which the author somewhat vaguely calls the "Prusso-Teutonics." In authorizing the Teutonic Order to conquer and Christianize the heathen Prussians, whom the author mistakenly calls

Slavs (pp. 37, 72), Emperor Frederick II, "this strange man" with "limitless ambitions" (p. 51), "bequeathed it all of his incontinent ambitions and all of his utilitarian ruthlessness" (p. 48). The author's account of the terrible deeds of the Order appears to be based mainly on the antiquated and anti-German work of Kotzebue (*Preussens aeltere Geschichte* [Riga, 1808]) and on a few recent Nazi writers whose glorification of thirteenth century Nazi methods Mr. Winkler finds it convenient to quote. His bibliography makes no mention of the standard scholarly works of Toeppen, Thunert, Lohmeyer, Mortensen, and many others.

The descendants of such thirteenth century Borussian "collaborationists" as were not slaughtered by the Knights, Mr. Winkler says, "now married among the German 'beggar noblemen' (*Betteljuncker*) who had settled in the country in the wake of the Knights. Together they were to form *the Prussian Junker caste*" (p. 52). He thus lumps under one heading two very different social groups. In reality the East Prussian nobles were often bitterly opposed to the Teutonic Knights and their Hohenzollern successors until the eighteenth century.

To explain the alleged secret conspiratorial methods of the Prusso-Teutronics, the author drags in a long disquisition on the Fehme courts and executions of the fifteenth century. These, however, centered in Westphalia and had no particular connection either with Prussia, the Teutonic Knights, or with the Junkers. Nor was there any direct organizational connection, as he erroneously seems to believe (pp. 27, 136), between the fifteenth century Fehme and the political assassinations in Germany after 1919, which he attributes to the Prusso-Teutronics.

The last third of the volume is a mystical philosophy of history which expounds the contrast between what he calls the "Downward Progression" of the Prusso-Teutronics and the "Upward Progression" of Western civilization. The latter begins with the Eleusinian Mysteries, because they "molded Greek thinking and morality to a much greater extent than the teachings of the philosophers" (p. 263), and "their influence on Western civilization is as great as the influence of Christianity itself" (p. 265). Hitler, at the end of the Downward Progression, "merely contributed the anti-Semitic note" (p. 215). Otherwise he is merely a tool in the hands of the Prusso-Teutronics, and "the primary cause of the Nazi danger is the centuries-old Prusso-Teutonic conspiracy" (p. 354).

Economic phenomena are also interpreted in mystical terms: gold was accepted as a symbol of value because, owing to its color and other qualities, it was considered a symbol of the sun and divinity in general, while silver was inferior, merely symbolizing "the moon and the feminine element in divinity, of the Isis, Demeter, Juno type." To possess gold, "whether actually, or in the form of bank-notes—a later development—is symbolically equivalent to the individual's 'participation in God'" (p. 318).

The author is a Hungarian with some English and French blood. His acquaintance with Germany was limited to some six months in Bavaria soon after the first World War. Otherwise his views of Germany seem to derive from the atmos-

phere of Paris, where he spent many years as a journalist before coming to America. The jacket calls his book "amazing." It is.

Harvard University

SIDNEY B. FAY.

THE LEGENDARY CHARACTER OF KAISER MAXIMILIAN. By *Glenn Elwood Waas*. [Columbia University Germanic Studies, edited by Robert Herndon Fife, New Series.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. Pp. 227. \$2.75.)

WHEN Ranke, in his history of the Reformation, gave the first modern characterization of Maximilian I, he appraised him as a statesman in a critical vein, while as a personality he viewed him—as Dr. Waas puts it (p. 14)—“with a slightly romantic hue.” Since Ranke, Maximilian’s place in the constitutional reform of Germany on the eve of the Reformation (*cf.* this reviewer’s survey in the *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIV, 293–303) and his share in the building-up of modern administration in the German territories (*cf.* O. Joelson, in the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, XXIV, 1931) have been amply discussed. Dr. Waas’s contribution is a re-examination of the accepted view of Maximilian’s personality—the “halo” affixed to his figure. Waas investigates the growth of the traditional story of “King Max,” with its repercussions in poetry, literature, and historiography through several centuries. When everything is said, his study may be classed among the frequent latter-day attempts to reduce to fair proportions the historical stature of some long-famous personality.

In many respects Waas’s criticism of the Maximilian legend is sound and convincing. It testifies to a solid preparation on the part of the author, to his wide reading of out-of-the-way sources, and to great care in the collection of material stretching from contemporary testimonies to poetical and historical works of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The study bears out the observation that several essential elements of the Maximilian tradition have been derived from the autobiographical works (such as *Teuerdank* and *Weisskunig*) with which the king tried to mold his remembrance by posterity (pp. 153, 188 f.). But these autobiographical works and other royal propaganda were not the only source of the “legend.” The autobiographical works—as Waas correctly states—were to “increase and consolidate material already in existence,” *i.e.*, views and anecdotes set afloat by contemporary politicians and humanists and caught up in popular songs. Why was this anecdotal material abroad? Does its existence not testify to an unusual impression of the king’s personality on his contemporaries? At this point a careful perusal of the author’s arguments leaves some doubt whether the “legend” is really always so far removed from the historical truth as the study suggests.

In order not to overlook any source testimony that might contradict even minute parts of the traditional story, the book lists every shred of contemporary evidence in two columns as it were—credit and debit in a discussion of whether the “good points” in Maximilian’s character recorded by the “legend” may not be

matched by "bad ones" detected by some occasional observer (p. 21 and *passim*). For instance, when dealing with the "laudatory" contention that Maximilian was an unusually efficient orator, Waas would pick out of the contemporary reports two cases in which Maximilian's words failed to restrain his *Landsknechte* from flight and pillage. This is taken as proof that the reports regarding the king's eloquence "are opposed by others which picture Max's eloquence as much less persuasive." (pp. 5 f.). Needless to say, even Demosthenian eloquence might fail before the anger of unpaid mercenaries. Evidently the author is too little concerned about the interwoven conditions of concrete historical situations. To illustrate this verdict with one other example: Although it is appropriate to recall that the man eulogized by the German humanists was their patron (pp. 42 ff.), it will convey a half-correct impression if the comment is made that to the humanists "Max was the great benefactor *in re* and *in spe*," meaning to say that for this reason their views have little weight. What the testimonies of the humanists are worth will appear only on a comprehensive view of the historical events, including the fact that Maximilian did act as an understanding friend of several co-operative enterprises of the German humanists, thus proving an openness of mind toward the new cultural trends of his time apparent also in his quick grasp of the importance of propaganda through the printed word.

Oversimplifications of the historical texture are a danger which Waas's study has in common with many a recent book purporting to loosen the "halo" of some historical personality. For this reason so much has been said in critique of Waas's otherwise solid and notable work. Its value is enhanced by a careful bibliography, to which, however, should be added (besides referring to Joelson's above-mentioned article) that Maximilian's relations to humanism were critically analyzed by P. Joachimsen in his *Geschichtschreibung unter dem Einfluss des Humanismus* (1910), while a good outline essay on Maximilian was recently published by H. Gerber in *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, XXV (1935), 149-62. An authoritative synthesis of the period of Maximilian and of the German Reformation, supplementing the older ones by Ranke and F.v.Bezold, has been given by Joachimsen in the fifth volume of the *Propylaeen-Weltgeschichte* (1930).

Wellesley, Massachusetts

HANS BARON

EUROPEANS IN WEST AFRICA, 1450-1560: DOCUMENTS TO ILLUSTRATE THE NATURE AND SCOPE OF PORTUGUESE ENTERPRISE IN WEST AFRICA, THE ABORTIVE ATTEMPT OF CASTILIANS TO CREATE AN EMPIRE THERE, AND THE EARLY ENGLISH VOYAGES TO BARBARY AND GUINEA. Translated and edited by *John William Blake*. [Hakluyt Society, Second Series, No. LXXXVI.] Two volumes. (London: Hakluyt Society. 1942. Pp. xxvi, 246; xi, 249-461.)

THE reviewer of these two volumes is placed in a difficult position by the obvious contradiction between their official title and the statement in the first

sentence of their preface that their main object "is to present, as far as known records permit, a contemporary picture of conditions on the West African coast, between Arguim (south of Cape Blanco) and the Equator during the first century of the Portuguese occupation." Are the fourteen hundred odd miles of Atlantic seaboard from Cape Blanco to Ceuta excluded from the picture or not? And if so, why? In view of all that the book has to say about the Canaries, the present writer is proceeding on the assumption that they are not, and that the work is intended to cover the entire coast line from the Equator clear around to Oran. If he has guessed wrong, he can only offer his apologies. In any case it is clear that the regions south of the Equator have been left untouched.

The book falls into three main divisions. The first is entitled "The First Century of Portuguese Enterprise in West Africa" and covers the period from 1466 to 1557; the second is called "Some Early Castilian Voyages to West Africa" and deals with the years 1454 to 1479; the third (which comprises the whole of Volume II) is devoted to the story of "The Early English Voyages to West Africa," most of which were made in the reigns of Edward VI and Queen Mary. Each section is preceded by a learned introduction, but the bulk of the space is allotted to the publication of contemporary manuscripts, printed documents, or excerpts from chronicles (whenever the originals are in a foreign language they have been translated) which bear upon the matter in hand; most of the manuscript sources appear in the Portuguese section, which is by far the most valuable portion of the book, and have been taken from the Torre do Tombo. The work has obviously been done with the utmost care; at times, indeed, the editor seems almost unnecessarily meticulous, as when, for instance, he spells "Guinea" three different ways, in his translation (p. 245) of the order of the king of Portugal to cast into the sea the crews of all Castilian ships found beyond the Canaries. Occasionally it might have been well to identify more precisely the senders and recipients of letters. There is, for instance, no indication, either in the text or in the index, that John Scheyfve was the imperial representative in England in the reign of Edward VI, and few of Mr. Blake's readers will be likely to know it.

The least satisfactory portion of the work is that which deals with the Castilian voyages. Mr. Blake has restricted his investigations to the attempts and failure of the Andalusians to win for themselves a foothold to the south of Cape Bojador; he wholly neglects the more permanently interesting story of Spain's successful efforts to establish herself on the coast opposite the Canaries; and his bibliography contains no evidence that he is familiar with the extensive literature that deals with them. The tale of Spanish-Portuguese rivalry for bases in northwestern Africa does not end, as Mr. Blake seems to think, with the treaty of Alcaçovas in 1479-80, in which Ferdinand and Isabella gave up all claims to the lands south of Cape Bojador; it continues until September 18, 1509, when King Emmanuel of Portugal acknowledged Castile to be the lawful possessor of Santa Cruz de Mar Pequena, opposite the Canaries. This outpost, which at first was used as a base for slave-hunting expeditions into the interior, may in fact claim to be the ances-

tor of the present Spanish colony of Rio de Oro, which was given its present boundaries in 1912; and it is worth noting that most of it now lies in the territory originally assigned to Portugal by the treaty of Alcaçovas.

The form and proofreading of Mr. Blake's two volumes measure up to the high standard to which readers of the publications of the Hakluyt Society have long been accustomed. The present reviewer has noted only two misprints: "Saliagun" for "Sahagún" on page 234, and "Cape Nam" for "Cape Nun" on the map at the end of Volume I.

Harvard University

ROGER B. MERRIMAN

MILTON AND THE PURITAN DILEMMA, 1641-1660. By *Arthur Barker*, Professor of English in Trinity College in the University of Toronto. [University of Toronto, Department of English, Studies and Texts, No. 1.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1942. Pp. xxiv, 440. \$3.75.)

IN this book John Milton is no longer "like a star that dwelt apart." Many other competent men are seen wrestling with the problems that engaged his pen and employing talents not far removed from his own. The "dilemma" for Milton and other Puritans was the tension between the reliance upon scriptural authority and the degree of recognition they gave to a humanistic and naturalistic philosophy. In the early period of the revolution this conflict of ideas was present but not in evidence. The political arguments of the Levelers were implicit in Rutherford's theory of the state, while the early association and later divergence of the Smectymnuan Thomas Young and Milton are paralleled in relation to Prynne and Lilburne. The realization of the fact that the learned Puritans were humanists as well as biblicists makes it now impossible to ask seriously, as did older writers, why Milton should not have allied himself with the Cavaliers. What Mr. Barker has discovered here, however, is essentially the dilemma of Christianity itself wherever it feels the influence of secular learning.

The study is divided under headings that are related to the successive phases of the revolution and of Milton's evolving thought. He was liberty's anxious advocate and liberty was his constant plea. Our author has examined the nature of his proposals side by side with those of other advocates of liberty, such as Roger Williams and John Goodwin. Prominent also among those who are helpfully brought into comparison with Milton are Harrington and Baxter. Of these obviously Goodwin stands nearest to the poet, Harrington at the greatest distance.

The firm radicalism at which Milton finally arrived was not reached by embracing either horn of the Puritan dilemma. He remained a humanist and a scriptural believer. His most unqualified assertions of Christian liberty, in which he identifies the law of nature with the illumination of the divine spirit, are associated with the Utopian conception of a holy and disciplined community. The course of events confirmed in him the Calvinist distrust of human nature and led him to admit to his political dream an element of apocalypticism. But, pend-

ing the divine intervention, since most men do not love Christian liberty, it must be saved by the few who do love it—in effect by their assumption of government over all! It would be difficult to defend this solution from such darts of criticism as had been launched by Milton and Goodwin against the Presbyterians a few years earlier.

The temporal range of the book is pretty strictly confined to the era of the Puritan ascendancy, though there are numerous useful references to the Protestant reformers. There are a few strange omissions; notably absent, for example, are John Amos Comenius, John Dury, and Peter Sterry, with each of whom Milton had traffic in ideas. The interest of our author is in matter, not in expression; in ideas, not in emotions. We miss here largely the untamed and eruptive eloquence of Milton who loved, as Mark Pattison observes, “to fling a wealth of magnificent words with both hands carelessly upon the page”; and we have but rare hints of what Milton himself called his “sanctified bitterness.” But other recent writers (such as Kelley, Sewell, Whiting, and Wolfe) have explored these matters. Mr. Barker is to be congratulated on a work of solid scholarship, a permanently valuable report upon the intellectual warfare of a highly significant period of English history.

University of Chicago

JOHN T. McNEILL

THE MAN WHO SOLD LOUISIANA: THE CAREER OF FRANÇOIS BARBÉ-MARBOIS. By *E. Wilson Lyon*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1942. Pp. xix, 240. \$2.75.)

THE present reviewer of this short but excellent survey of the life of the Napoleonic agent for the sale of Louisiana agrees with the appraisal by Henry E. Bourne, in the *Journal of Modern History* (September, 1942, pp. 380–81). Dr. Bourne cited instances of vagueness or inaccuracy of background material, praised the thorough search in French and American archives, public and private, and recommended the chapter on the financial crisis of 1805.

Dr. Lyon has written a smooth, eminently readable biography, gives evidence upon controversial points, and provides meticulous documentation. The reader will regret that such a long and interesting career has been condensed to 189 pages. Barbé-Marbois, son of a Metz merchant, held office through seven regimes, from 1768 until 1834, lived in the Holy Roman Empire, Austria, Saint Domingue, French Guiana, and America, and died a marquis, owning a Norman chateau and prosperous lands, at the age of ninety-two. By his brevity Dr. Lyon leaves many unanswered questions. Why has no biography of Barbé-Marbois been written in these hundred years? What influence on the organization of the French consular service did he actually exert? What were his contributions to the development of the *Cour des Comptes*, whose long administration Dr. Lyon considers the greatest service of Barbé-Marbois?

Like biographers of Lafayette, Siéyès, and Talleyrand, Dr. Lyon has asked how

a man could hold office continuously under the contrasting governments that ruled France during his active career. Lifelong advocacy of moderation is the explanation given. A second reason is implied. Barbé-Marbois exemplifies the civil servant who adheres to the letter of the law, and performs his duties with efficiency and probity, during an era when only one Frenchman (Robespierre) was popularly reputed for incorruptibility. Public administrators carry on despite changes of heads of governments.

There should be an entire chapter on the writings of Barbé-Marbois, instead of brief mention scattered through the chronological survey. Published sections of his memoirs—on his life in America and his exile in Guiana—attest an observing traveler. Let us hope that Dr. Lyon will be able, after this war, to publish the manuscript sections of the memoirs. The innumerable publications of Barbé-Marbois include administrative reports, works on finance, administration, agricultural improvements, prisons, an exposition of the Benedict Arnold plot, and his best-known *Histoire de la Louisiane*. American historians would appreciate comparison of his various observations on American life and government with those of his famous compatriots, Lafayette, Talleyrand, and de Tocqueville. Either Barbé-Marbois is chiefly remarkable for his longevity and the quantity of his writings, or he has never received due recognition. By omission this biography leaves the former impression.

This volume affords equal interest for the Revolutionary era in Europe and for American historians.

Hunter College

BEATRICE F. HYSLOP

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF CENTRAL BANKING, 1797-1913. By E. Victor Morgan. [Cambridge Studies in Economic History.] (Cambridge: at the University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1943. Pp. xi, 252. \$3.50.)

THE title of this book by raising false hopes may cause some disappointment to general readers. This is not a history of central banking in the various nations from 1797 to 1913, or even a full-bodied history of the Bank of England. Specifically, it is a study of the operations of the Bank in respect to the London money market and of banking and currency theories bearing upon these operations.

The setting of economic practice against a background of contemporary theory is a method that should be more widely employed in general texts as well as in specialized monographs. Mr. Morgan handles this technique ably from the standpoint of accuracy in both the data selected and the arguments advanced. Dry writing and uninspired organization, however, prevent the reader from gaining the full benefit of the fresh approach. Footnotes are sparse and incomplete, and there is no bibliography to fill out the abbreviated forms used in the initial citation of sources.

In dealing with banking and currency theory the author places too much

emphasis on the "surprisingly barren" Restriction period (p. 74) and the years immediately thereafter, too little on the latter half of the nineteenth century, and none at all on the early twentieth century. The discussions end with an evaluation of the ideas of Walter Bagehot and his contemporaries.

Many points of interest to the American reader emerge from this study of British banking practice. The country bankers in the 1820's and 1830's attacked the Bank of England for monopoly and credit restriction, just as the same interests successfully attacked the Second Bank of the United States. Bagehot, as late as the 1870's, thought that if a central bank were not already in existence it would be better not to create one. A well-managed central bank was obviously not a complete insurance against the gyrations of the business cycle. Skillful manipulations of bank rate and open market operations by able governors, such as William Lidderdale in the nineties, might flatten the swings, but they could not prevent booms and depressions.

A comprehensive history of the Bank of England, even to 1913, must await the opening of the bank's own records. From 1875 on there is almost no internal material available except that given to the United States Monetary Commission in the early twentieth century for its study of British banking.

New York University

THOMAS C. COCHRAN

A HOMESTEAD HISTORY. Being the Reminiscences and Letters of Alfred Joyce of Plaistow and Norwood, Port Phillip, 1843 to 1864. With Introduction and Notes by *G. F. James*, Lecturer in History in the University of Melbourne. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press; New York: G. E. Stechert. 1942. Pp. 200. 10s. 6d.; \$2.50.)

In 1856 Alfred Joyce told his parents in London that some day he would like them to send him copies of all the letters he had written them since the day when in 1843 he had deserted the trade of a London millwright and mechanical engineer to become a sheep "squatter" (rancher) in the newly opened pastoral lands northwest of Melbourne. In 1896 he used these letters to refresh his memory as he wrote his reminiscences. In 1940 this autobiographical essay passed into the hands of Melbourne University, and Mr. James was able to unearth many of the letters as well. The result is a little book that would serve as script for a first-rate documentary film and deserves high rank in the literature of pastoral pioneering.

The reminiscences cover the years 1843-51, when wool was king and when the pastoralist was free to try his luck, worried only by drought, flood, scab, wild dogs, degenerating aborigines, fluctuating labor costs, and violent changes in prices. You began by buying a few hundred sheep from some one who had too many of them and too large a grazing area. You paid about \$1.00 a head for them, and got the sheep "run" thrown in free. Then you paid the state an annual grazing license fee of \$50, plus one cent per sheep to help defray the costs of the Crown Lands Commissioner, who settled boundary disputes and kept the peace. Thanks

partly to the penal system, but far more to the Wakefield system of spending much of the proceeds from land sales on assisted immigration, the supply of fairly cheap labor was adequate; and the wool brokers were already pursuing a policy of liberally financing the sheepmen, which made it easy for newchums to get on their feet. Joyce and his older brother began with about \$750 of loan capital; but they easily adapted themselves to the new way of life, used their business and mechanical training to good advantage, and prospered so much that Alfred finally decided to get a run of his own.

Then came the gold rush of 1851, and the letters describe how Joyce fared on his new "station" in face of the upheaval caused first by gold and then by the desire of the government to provide farms for settlers in regions already occupied by the pastoralists. The diggings created a market for flour, hay, vegetables, meat, milk, butter, etc., so Joyce developed hay and wheat fields, a truck garden, a dairy herd, and a butchering business. He became a general carrier, built a toll bridge over a stream, and started a flour mill. When the uproar subsided and the government cast longing eyes on the better parts of the fifty-eight square miles that he now held on leasehold tenure, he bought over four square miles and managed thereby to render the rest of the land useless to anyone else. By 1864, when the letters end, he had a steam flour mill, a farm of five hundred cultivated acres, twelve thousand sheep, and a labor force of at least fifty hired workers. Experiment, careful observation, mechanical ability, a rare refusal to speculate, and an equally rare capacity for keeping accounts and managing men had enabled this Whitechapel Cockney to double his capital every two and one half years and to ride out every storm. If the entrepreneur is more than an economist's myth, Alfred Joyce was a good example of the real thing.

University of Minnesota

HERBERT HEATON

EUROPE AND ITALY'S ACQUISITION OF LIBYA, 1911-1912. By *William C. Askew*. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1942. Pp. xi, 317. \$3.50.)

ATTENTION is invariably so focused on the World War that the preliminary skirmishes are usually examined from this point of view and not as events in themselves. Professor Askew now deals in a thorough systematic study with one of the relatively neglected events of pre-World War history that has had a fateful postwar significance. The conflict well merits a monograph of this type, where all the important sources are canvassed, including the new Russian documents, and it is doubtful that eventual material from Italian and Turkish archives will materially change the picture here presented. It is perhaps comforting to historians first to know that no startling revelations or new interpretations are made, and secondly that here they can find a discussion in careful detail of the diplomatic bickerings connected with that conflict. A goodly section of the contemporary press has been examined, and this material is used primarily to evaluate public opinion

as to various incidents connected with the conflict. Material from the State Department at Washington on the whole indicates how remote we were from European affairs in this period.

Italy had prepared for the acquisition of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania—to be renamed Libya—for many years. "Germany in 1887, France in 1900 and 1902, Austria and England in 1902 and Russia in 1909 gave assurances to Italy which amounted to an undated check for Tripoli." When the Morocco Crisis of 1911 presaged a new shift in African territory, Italy decided to cash in on her promises. Peaceful economic penetration under the aegis of the Banco di Roma had not produced the desired results and, using an alleged threat of a native uprising, Italy on September 28, 1911, demanded of Turkey the right to occupy Tripoli. After Italian occupation of the coastal cities the war bogged down, for the Italians could not get at the Turks who retreated into the interior and rallied the Arabs to their support. Camels were lacking and they were very difficult to purchase. Italy's attempt to strike at Turkey outside of Africa aroused the opposition of various European powers. Above all, Austria-Hungary legitimately brought forward Article VII of the Treaty of Alliance, under which the two allies promised each other compensations if one made advances against European Turkey. Mr. Askew deals with Russia's schemes to open the straits and stresses time and again the great care the Russian statesmen exercised throughout the conflict to increase their standing at Rome. Basically none of the great powers objected to Italy's obtaining this North African territory, and no sooner had the war begun than they started to talk about mediating peace. Each was fearful that another might reap greater advantages from this activity, for all of them wanted to woo and wed Italy and Turkey at the same time. Consequently none would apply pressure where it was needed. In the end it was the opening of the Balkan War which cut through the party politics at Constantinople and brought the Turkish statesmen to recognize the cession of territory which from the beginning they knew was lost.

Outside of some Socialists and a few Republicans, public opinion in Italy favored the war. Considerable emphasis is laid upon the activity of clerical groups during the preliminaries of the conflict, but their subsequent position during the war is not mentioned. In presenting various fruitless diplomatic proposals, the author permits himself too much detail. What various ambassadors or ministers thought is often not vital to the main delineation of events. Somewhat more summarization and more frequent expression of opinion would have been welcome. Yet there are an excellent summary chapter, a lengthy bibliography, and a good index with thumbnail biographical notes on the numerous names mentioned in the text.

Bowdoin College

E. C. HELMREICH

I WORKED WITH LAVAL. By Pierre Tissier. (London: Harrap. 1942. Pp. 128.)

THE author was Laval's secretary for two and a half years, from 1930 at the ministries of labor and the interior and when Laval became president of the council. And Tissier published this book when Laval again became head of the government in April, 1942. It shows great knowledge of French politicians and political methods. He describes Briand as "given up solely to the thought of peace" and as a great orator who could win votes. But he was excluded from the presidency, because "no President of the Republic, except Poincaré, has ever been chosen from among first-rate politicians." Darlan is denounced for his ambition and accused of "betraying the interests of his country"; Petain's "mind is only clear in the morning. He does not govern, he reigns." Laval "is Germany's direct agent, a *Gauleiter* installed at Vichy." He "is essentially a peasant, for he is an unusually ignorant person, never writes anything, and has no eloquence." His success is ascribed to "his personal charm, his perfect knowledge of the whole parliamentary machinery, and his absolute lack of scruples." Owner of two newspapers at Lyons, he manipulated the press, and a journalist "wrote most of his speeches." A diplomatist called him "the very symbol of collaboration," despite his ignorance of geography when at the foreign office. But in this respect he is not alone among statesmen. Briand did not know what the Banat was; Lloyd George's friend Lord Riddell asked the present reviewer at the San Remo Conference if he could tell the premier where Fiume was, and the premier confessed his ignorance of Teschen. The author's summary of Laval is that "he is to-day the most hated man in France."

One chapter deals with Anatole de Monzie, author of *Ci-devant* and minister of education in 1933. Tissier worked with him in producing the *Encyclopédie française*, but this does not prevent him from criticizing this learned minister for his "pro-Italian manoeuvres," which "in conjunction with Laval's pro-German maneuvers contributed largely to bring about the capitulation of France." The book ends with an account of the riots of February 6, 1934, started by "members of the conservative and reactionary middle-class," of which the author was an eyewitness—"the most tragic night I have ever known." He knows his countrymen's weaknesses, the love of decorations, the dislike of foreigners. But he feels it "a sacred task for every Frenchman to help to overthrow" the Vichy system, which he sums up as "abroad betrayal, at home famine, the vanishing of all liberties, utter despotism, the police taking the place of all other institutions."

Durban, South Africa

WILLIAM MILLER

Far Eastern History

FAR EASTERN WAR, 1937-1941. By *Harold S. Quigley*, Professor of Political Science, University of Minnesota. (Boston: World Peace Foundation. 1942. Pp. xi, 369. Cloth \$2.50, paper \$1.00.)

THE scope and complexity of modern Far Eastern problems have always presented a barrier to adequate treatment—and therefore to adequate understanding by the American people. For the vitally needed education of the American layman, demanding broad analysis of trends with considerable factual detail, the task is posed in its most difficult form. The success achieved by the author of *Far Eastern War* in producing a general survey of this kind, without sacrificing the virtues of sound scholarship, should thus be hailed with real satisfaction.

It is instructive to note the breadth of the canvas which is employed in a text compressed into less than three hundred pages, *i.e.*, not more than the average American might be expected to read. Summaries of underlying domestic conditions and tendencies in the two major Far Eastern countries, China and Japan, constitute the first essential preliminary. Treatment of China's international position and of the Sino-Japanese issues in dispute in 1937 requires further introductory material. Two other chapters deal almost exclusively with the impact of the war on the home fronts in China and Japan. Thus, in a study devoted primarily to the 1937-41 period of the Far Eastern war, six chapters are needed to give historical background or to cover essentially domestic factors.

There can be no question that this emphasis is justified. The first chapter, which underscores land reform as the *sine qua non* of progress in China, is perhaps more fundamentally relevant to current and also to postwar issues than the chapters devoted to pre-Pearl Harbor international diplomacy. Effective mobilization of China's economic resources for the war, as well as the application of democratic processes in actuality rather than in verbal phrases, necessitates drastic changes in the outmoded system which still dominates Chinese rural economy. In the United States, which, as the author indicates elsewhere, strongly hopes for the emergence of democracy in China, "the difficulties of this metamorphosis are but dimly appreciated" (p. 201). Similar problems exist in Japan, where one of the twin pillars of the military structure is a feudal agriculture, the other being a set of super-monopolist financial and industrial combines. If these conditions are ignored in the peacemaking, the instability which will continue to characterize the Far East will undermine any international "settlement."

On the diplomatic side of the work, Japan's steady advance from the monopolization of occupied China's economic resources to the program for seizure of "Greater East Asia," involving alliance with the Axis, is set off against an examination of American, British, and Russian policies. In these chapters the serious criticisms which many Americans leveled against United States policy toward

Japan during the years which led up to Pearl Harbor find little expression. There is no real acknowledgment of the extent to which American supplies armed Japan, both militarily and industrially, during the 1937-40 period. And the epilogue contains the statement: "Americans may justly find comfort in their relations with both China and Japan." It is doubtful whether this optimistic generalization would receive full support by other students in the field.

While certain interpretations in this volume may be questioned, it represents a substantial analysis buttressed by thorough study of available sources. This result is achieved in brief compass with proper relative stress on the complicated factors at work in the Far East, so that the interrelated picture stands out clearly. To the main text are appended some twenty documents, as well as a detailed and useful bibliography.

Institute of Pacific Relations

T. A. Bisson

POSTMORTEM ON MALAYA. By *Virginia Thompson*. With a Foreword by Sir George Sansom. [Issued under the auspices of the Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, International Research Series.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1943. Pp. xix, 323. \$3.00.)

SIR George Sansom's foreword (pp. vii-xvii) in the book here under review is as good a commentary as could be desired on this compact volume. Sir George points out that the fall of Malaya had an effect upon world opinion that will prove perhaps more serious and durable than its effect upon the course of the war.

Postmortem on Malaya is primarily a peering into the political and administrative vitals of Malaya as they were during the period immediately preceding the Japanese invasion. It is not a historical, factual account of the events leading to the dismal surrender in that Ford factory outside Singapore. The emphasis is rather upon supposed defects in the social, economic, and political mechanism of Malaya. No documentation is provided, although there is a brief but excellent bibliography of materials (mainly contemporary) on Malaya.

Everyone perhaps will agree with Miss Thompson's thesis that the collapse of the military and civil forces in the peninsula revealed grave weaknesses in organization and administration in Malaya. Not everyone will concur, however, in her diagnosis with respect to the basic causes of the prostration or with her proposals for changes which would have prevented the debacle. Other competent scholars of things Malayan will contend that the disastrous retreat to Singapore revealed only the country's lack of preparation for the strain of war. It did not necessarily demonstrate that the political and social structure was, in other respects and for other purposes, hopelessly defective or unsuited for modern Malaya.

This volume is of considerable value to the increasing number of Americans who realize that crucial postwar problems await settlement in southeastern Asia. It is pointed out quite properly that less than 40 per cent of the total population

was of the Malay race, that there is wide diversity in political structure and development in Malaya, and that "even the nationalists wanted more British benevolence rather than the replacement of it." It is hardly cricket to accuse Britain, on the one hand, of having ignored the legitimate claims of Malay nationalists and the demand of the native states and the Chinese and Indian immigrants for more self-rule, and, on the other hand, to blame the British for the lack of a strong policy and for the delays and uncertainty which are inevitably the result of consulting local opinion among the diverse areas and peoples of the country. In short, we cannot have it both ways. To accede to the demands of every sort of localism and racial group in southeastern Asia would be to Balkanize the entire region. This would be a great mistake in Malaya.

This reviewer has noted in the American newspaper and periodical press and in books on contemporary politics a tendency to attribute the rapid advance of Japan through the rich lands of southeastern Asia to the fact that this entire area (except Thailand) was in colonial or semi-colonial status. The statement is advanced repeatedly that had the Malaysians, the Burmese, the Javanese, and even the Papuans a greater stake in the government of their respective homelands, they would have risen en masse, proclaimed a "peoples' war," and would have stopped the Japanese advance. Certain objections to this theory at once suggest themselves. First, Thailand, the only independent area in the region, offered less opposition to the Japanese forces than did any other state. Second, no conceivable measure of self-government would have brought the defensive power of Malaya to the point where it could have resisted the Japanese advance under the strategic situation which did in fact obtain immediately after Pearl Harbor. The bare truth is that the Japanese campaigns throughout Southeast Asia were military, not political, accomplishments which could have been prevented only by military, not political, means. At the point of contact from Hong Kong, to Indochina, to Thailand, to Malaya, to Burma, Japanese victories were won because they had overwhelming force of arms at the point of impact. The Japanese military never send out a boy to do a man's work. The United Nations were either unable or unwilling to provide the military force necessary to stop them: all other explanations are secondary. The theorists continually tell us that had the nationals of Southeast Asia been in control the story would have been otherwise. But this reviewer has grave doubts. He would as soon accept the suggestion that the really effective way to have destroyed Rommel was to have turned North Africa over to the Bedouins. It is not quite as simple as that.

Takoma Park, Maryland

JOHN L. CHRISTIAN

American History

CAESARS OF THE WILDERNESS: MEDARD CHOUART, SIEUR DES GROSEILLIERS, AND PIERRE ESPRIT RADISSON, 1618-1710. By *Grace Lee Nute*. [The American Historical Association.] (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1943. Pp. xvi, 386. \$4.00.)

For forty years or so after 1885, when G. D. Scull first published the perplexing narratives of Radisson, historians usually thought of "the Radisson Problem" as reconstruction of his activities and of those of his brother-in-law, Des Groseilliers, in the heart of North America between 1654 and 1660, or, more particularly, as the question whether they reached Hudson Bay at that time. About ten years ago Professor Nute, confronted by some broader implications and realizing that no one could build safely upon the narrow and often corrupt evidence available, tackled the whole matter afresh by seeking out old and new source materials in Europe and North America. That enterprise has led to her writing more than the mere history of how her heroes were inspired to guess that the Hudson Bay entry to the mid-continent could solve the fur-trade problems of the day. During their adventurous careers the two *coureurs de bois* became implicated in many other North American enterprises. By tracing these ramifications Miss Nute has not only put together a substantial section of the jigsaw puzzle of personal, regional, and national rivalries in the seventeenth century scramble for the mid-continent but has also interlocked her revelations with the best work which has been done in related fields. The interplay of early North American ambitions which excited Justin Winsor's attention two generations ago thereby receives new body and substance.

In her primary task Miss Nute has left few problems unsolved. Ironically enough, although Des Groseilliers deserves more credit for creative imagination and positive enterprise than Radisson, the latter was such an eloquent promoter that he still tends to eclipse his close-mouthed leader. It now seems clear that Radisson did not, as he claimed, accompany Des Groseilliers on the momentous journey of 1654 to 1656 to Michigan and Wisconsin; that the brothers-in-law together in 1659 and 1660 made the exploration of the Lake Superior region upon which so much subsequent French and English activity was based; and that Radisson lied when he claimed that they traveled overland to Hudson Bay at that time, other than in imagination.

The difficult task of relating the enterprises of the two *coureurs* from Three Rivers to contemporary designs in North America and Europe is almost as well done. The obscure or debatable careers of related adventurers from Acadia, New England, New France, and New Spain are hard enough to handle, but the author must also conduct the reader through two intricate mazes—the sundering feud on both sides of the Atlantic between the Jesuit party and its rivals and the sharp vicissitudes on both sides of the Channel arising from religious and political aspects

of the relations between Louis XIV and the last two Stuart kings. It seems possible that specialists in segments of the periphery of Miss Nute's study may raise questions of detail, but these should not detract from her success in establishing the careers of the French founders of the English Hudson's Bay Company.

The narrative is almost consistently fluent, humane, and colorful. The technical apparatus is excellent, although the reproductions of old maps are hardly sufficient supplement to the end papers, and for some reason the usage as to French names which is asserted in the preface is abandoned in the index. A. Couillard Després' monumental *Charles de St. Etienne de La Tour et son temps* (1930) seems to have been overlooked, as well as R. Flenley's edition and translation of Dollier de Casson's *Histoire du Montréal* (1928). More might be made in the text of the discrepancy between Radisson's high remuneration from the company and its ordinary rates of pay (see Appendix 10). The sea-anchor maneuver described on pages 52-53 was designed to bring the bow of the canoe, not its stern, up into the wind.

Columbia University

J. B. BREBNER

ATLAS OF AMERICAN HISTORY. *James Truslow Adams*, Editor in Chief; *R. V. Coleman*, Managing Editor. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1943. Pp. xi, 360. \$10.00.)

THERE is really no need for a review of this impressive product of American historical scholarship. It should be sufficient to say that from the standpoint of utility, workmanship, and scholarship the volume measures up to the high standard of the six volumes of the *Dictionary of American History*, which it is intended to supplement. It is easier to find fault with a work of this kind than it was to work out the editorial plan and to find competent men to execute it. Of the competency of the editors, the cartographer, the advisory council, and the contributors, and of the excellence of the publisher's manufacturing department there can be no serious question. The only legitimate line of attack would be to question the basis on which maps were included or excluded. This would raise the question as to whether or not the editors and contributors have realized their aim of preparing an atlas which presents geographical history as completely and effectively as the *Dictionary of American History* presents written history. Granting the validity of the definition of "geographical" as carefully explained in the foreword, one can find little fault with the *Atlas*.

This reviewer admits that he is a rank amateur in the field of geography, and his disheartening experiences with undergraduates (and graduate students, too) in courses in American and European history convince him that hundreds of thousands of high school graduates and college graduates are his brethren in ignorance. May we hope that this *Atlas* will clear the foggy minds of students who have the energy to consult it in the library and the few who have the means to add it to their own libraries? This reviewer has found the volume helpful for the following

reasons: (1) The maps are arranged chronologically. (2) They are not cumbered with confusing detail. (3) Many maps have concise explanatory notes, conveniently placed, which not only clarify but make unnecessary other maps to show more or less important changes, conflicting boundaries, admission of states, organization of territories, and mysteries that can be explained only by word of hand. (4) A comprehensive and workable index.

The selection of the 147 maps can be defended as consistent with the editorial policy; but if bulk or expense precluded additions, certain maps pertaining to the War of the Revolution and the Civil War might have been sacrificed to make room for additional railroad maps and four or five maps showing the distribution of population and the development of automobile highways and airways.

University of Minnesota

GEORGE M. STEPHENSON

ANOTHER SECRET DIARY OF WILLIAM BYRD OF WESTOVER, 1739-1741, WITH LETTERS & LITERARY EXERCISES, 1696-1726. Edited by Maude H. Woodfin. Translated and collated by Marion Tinling. (Richmond: Dietz Press. 1942. Pp. xlv, 490. \$5.00.)

THIS volume comes as a welcome supplement to the *Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1707-1712*, edited by Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling. It is fortunate that the two parts of the diary, so long separated in manuscript form, are now reunited in these two volumes, and it is to be hoped that the section in the possession of the Virginia Historical Society will eventually appear as a third.

Another Secret Diary consists of an introduction, two parts, and four appendices. Part I gives us the diary itself. With the passage of time Byrd made his diary entries briefer, so that whereas those of 1709-12 run to fifteen or more printed lines, those of 1739-40 average no more than seven or eight. Thus the latter become stereotyped and more apt to omit interesting details and observations on the life of colonial Virginia. But the historian, disappointed though he may be by this brevity, will find much to interest and instruct him. There are many references to plantation life—its economy, the slaves, the indentured workers, the overseers, food crops, artisans, the primitive medical service, and so forth. We are also glad to have Byrd introduce us to prominent men in the Virginia government—Commissary James Blair, Governor William Gooch, Robert Dinwiddie, and others. When the references to men and events are obscure, the editor has gone to commendable pains to explain them.

Part II is devoted to certain of Byrd's letters and literary exercises. The former, which were written in England in the years from 1717 to 1724, were discovered in the library of the University of North Carolina. There are many love letters, in which he poured out his devotion to Fidelia, identified as Lucy Parke, or to Sabina, who was Mary Smith, daughter of John Smith, commissioner of the excise. Occasionally Byrd tried his hand at verse. Typical is the following:

"Sabina with an Angel's face,
By Love ordain'd for Joy,
Seems of the Syren's cruel Race,
To Charm and then destroy."

In the appendixes we have a few fragmentary pages from the notebooks, selections from *Tunbrigalia or Tunbridge Miscellanies*, published in 1719; *A Discourse Concerning the Plague*, published in 1721; and *The Female Creed*, a humorous satire from one of the manuscript notebooks. Byrd's ideas concerning the transmission and remedy for the plague, however crude they seem to present-day readers, were fully abreast of his own times. Like others he attributes the disease to divine wrath, but he also takes pains to explain that it is "occasioned by a venomous taint of the air."

There are few colonial biographies. Not only did the dawn of American civilization produce few great men, but the material for writing the lives of the typical planter, or merchant, or artisan is often lacking. With the publication of two sections of Byrd's diary, with many of his letters in print, with a number of his other writings available, the time is propitious for a life of this interesting Virginian.

Princeton University

THOMAS J. WERTENBAKER

JEFFERSON: THE ROAD TO GLORY, 1743 to 1776. By Marie Kimball.
(New York: Coward-McCann. 1943. Pp. ix, 358. \$4.00.)

I WAS recently asked by Alfred Knopf why there was no first-class, comprehensive biography of either Franklin or Jefferson. Perhaps one reason is that there are already a number of lives just good enough to pass muster, besides a number of works dealing with particular aspects of their interests and activities. Another reason might be that the task is too formidable. What other American ever found it possible to be familiar with all of the ideas and to contribute so much to the accumulated knowledge of his time, and at the same time to become a leader of the highest distinction in events of international importance? Either Franklin or Jefferson would be famous for what he did apart from what he wrote, or for what he wrote apart from what he did. To write a really first-class, comprehensive life of Thomas Jefferson one would have to be thoroughly familiar with the political, economic, and intellectual history of Europe and America from 1750 to 1826. That would be, however, merely a prerequisite, as college catalogues say, to the course. The course would consist in learning all that the printed books and unpublished manuscripts could tell one about Thomas Jefferson's manifold interests and activities during a long life. One might begin by finding out how many "Jefferson papers" there are—in Richmond, Charlottesville, Washington, Philadelphia, New York, New Haven, Boston, San Francisco, and San Marino. Having found out, any sensible person who had reached the age of discretion would abandon the task. Fortunately, not all scholars have reached the age of

discretion, and some of these are not, I hope, sensible; so that one of them with adequate ability may some day be rash enough to enter this labyrinth. Well and good, but let him abandon all hope of ever getting out.

Mrs. Fiske Kimball, realizing the difficulties, has limited her task (task isn't the right word) to a part of Jefferson's life, and has wisely chosen that part of it about which his biographers have known least and, for that and other reasons, most misrepresented. Jefferson has been presented as the son of "an ignorant backwoodsman" who married into the "great and wealthy Randolph clan"; so that as the son of his father he has been "revered as the champion of the lowly," and as the son of his mother has "been execrated as faithless to his class." Mrs. Kimball, having mastered all of the available printed and manuscript sources, demonstrates with a wealth of concrete detail that Peter Jefferson was a man of substantial property, and sufficiently well-born and educated to make his marriage to Jane Randolph (of whose cousin, William Randolph, Peter was a boon companion) desirable for both families. It never occurred to Thomas Jefferson that any of his ancestors were born on the wrong side of the tracks—not that he would have cared if they had been. By birth, manner of living, education, and temperament he was a Virginia aristocrat. What made him a democrat—a "champion of the lowly"—was his innate generosity and humane feeling, his imaginative understanding of political history and social relations, and his profound contempt for every sort of pretentiousness and every species of flummery.

Mrs. Kimball knows her eighteenth century Virginia as well as if she had lived in it at that time. She knows its economic and political history, its aristocratic families and their interrelations, their ways of living and making a living, their houses and furniture and social diversions; and she has taken the trouble to find out all there is to find out about young Thomas Jefferson, and to tell with much charm and fine intelligence the story of his life up to the drafting of the Declaration at the age of thirty-three. We learn about his youth and early education, the role he played as a member of the class of '62 at William and Mary, who his friends were, what subjects he studied, what part he played in the social life of the place, what young ladies he fell in love with, what suffering *à la* Werther he experienced, and what gloomy, pessimistic heroics he indulged in and enjoyed during the years when, as is right and proper, a young man has the time to be a *Sturm und Drang* hero. A very engaging, passably gay Virginia aristocrat and most eligible bachelor, young Jefferson—who of course, at the age of nineteen, owed it to himself to understand thoroughly, to contemplate with lofty disdain, and to renounce forever the lovely, designing sex. This phase lasted a year, maybe; and then the young man goes to read "old Coke" with George Wythe—the remarkable man who probably had a more profound influence on Jefferson than any other person. There he became the hard, systematic student that he remained all his life. A proper day's work for a student he figured out as follows: from dawn to eight o'clock—physical studies, ethics and religion, natural law; from eight to twelve—reading law and noting the gist of all important decisions;

from twelve to one—politics; “in the afternoon”—history, Gibbon, etc.; from “dark to bedtime”—belles lettres, criticism, rhetoric, and oratory. Jefferson was at that time, as he says later, “bold in the pursuit of knowledge.” But any student, then or now, contemplating this stuffed calendar, might well ask, “when do we eat?”

There is a very full account of Jefferson’s marriage to Martha Wayles, of his deep devotion to her, and of the shattering effect of her premature death on his mind and spirits for many months. To the end of his life he rarely if ever mentioned but never forgot this most beloved woman or the irreparable disaster to him of her loss. About half of the book is given to Jefferson’s public life, and it ends with the drafting of the Declaration. This part naturally contains less that is new, but it is equally well done. An admirable book, which demonstrates, among other things, that a sound historical work is all the sounder for being at the same time a sound work of art.

Cornell University

CARL BECKER

BRITISH WEST FLORIDA, 1763–1783. By *Cecil Johnson*, Associate Professor of History, the University of North Carolina. [Yale Historical Publications, Leonard Woods Labaree, Editor, Miscellany, XLII.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1943. Pp. ix, 258. \$3.00.)

THIS scholarly book will be welcomed by students of American colonial history. The older British colonies and Atlantic seaboard areas have been the object of much specialized investigation, as have Canada and the Mississippi Valley. Outside of a few important articles British West Florida, however, has been overlooked—except insofar as it seemed necessary to consider it more or less incidentally in works concerned either with larger areas or with states that later came into existence and that lay largely or partially within the boundaries of the province as these existed before 1783.

Professor Johnson has seen and clearly indicates the problems that faced Great Britain in seeking to build a permanent and prosperous colony after 1763 in a region lying adjacent to Spanish Louisiana and rather densely populated by Upper Creek or Alabama and Choctaw Indians, and in close contact with the warlike Chickasaw dwelling on the upper waters of the Yazoo.

As in the case of the province of Nova Scotia before 1763, British West Florida after that date took on a strong military complexion. Each colony lay in a highly critical area; each also was heavily subsidized by the mother country, largely for purposes having nothing to do with immediate commercial advantages and profits but everything to do with those that may be considered imperialistic in nature. But here the similarity ceases. Unlike early Nova Scotia, an attempt was made in West Florida to divide administrative authority between a civilian governor and a military commander, with the result that instead of unity of control and a fair degree of harmony in the government of the colony, a series of sharp con-

flicts—some of serious proportions—characterize its brief history. Also in contrast to the policy applied to the older province before 1763 an attempt was made very soon—perhaps too soon—after the establishment of West Florida to set up a representative assembly that opposed, as a rule, most of the measures of the royal governors in the best American tradition, although the burden of taxation was all but non-existent.

The effort to develop an official Indian policy for regulating trade and other relations in harmony with the Proclamation of 1763 and that in the direction of a suitable land distribution policy are carefully considered as are the futile attempts to colonize the eastern bank of the Mississippi and to bring the colony within the orbit of the American Revolutionary War vortex.

Lehigh University

LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON

ADVENTURES OF ALONSO: CONTAINING SOME STRIKING ANECDOTES OF THE PRESENT PRIME MINISTER OF PORTUGAL—IN FACSIMILE; ANONYMOUSLY PRINTED IN LONDON IN 1775, AND NOW ATTRIBUTED TO THOMAS ATWOOD DIGGES (1741-1821) OF Warburton Manor, Maryland. "The First American Novel," by *Robert H. Elias*. Edited by *Thomas J. McMahon*. [United States Catholic Historical Society, Monograph Series XVIII.] (New York: United States Catholic Historical Society. 1943. Pp. xxviii, 148, 144.)

It is a curious human trait which makes us so much interested in "firsts." A piece of literature may have little intrinsic worth, but if it is the earliest example of its species, it acquires a special value both to historians of literature and social historians. The editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* was painfully surprised, some years ago, at the deluge of protests he received when he published an article on "The First American Novelist," in which the author incorrectly gave to Gilbert Imlay that honor for his novel *The Emigrants*. For many years *The Power of Sympathy* (1789) has been generally recognized as the first full-length novel written in America by an American. This record of scandal, sugar-coated with moral reflections, was attributed until lately to Mrs. Sarah Wentworth Morton, a Boston woman of otherwise unblemished reputation, but Dr. Ellis of Maine has demolished her claim. Dr. Maynadier of Harvard has recently published a volume which endeavors to establish Mrs. Susan Lennox in this position, mainly by reason of her novel *The Life of Harriot Stuart* (1751). And Mr. Robert Elias of Pennsylvania has written a scholarly article, "The First American Novel," published originally in *American Literature* in January, 1941, and now reissued as a preface to a reprint of the novel itself, *The Adventures of Alonso* (1775), "by Thomas Atwood Digges,—a citizen of Maryland." The novel has been edited by Reverend Thomas J. McMahon.

The whole question hinges on what is an "American Novel." Mrs. Lennox was born in the colonies and spent her girlhood there, but all her writing was done

in England and she never returned to this country. If the anonymous author of *The Power of Sympathy* was William Hill Brown, as Dr. Ellis believes, he lived in Boston. *The Adventures of Alonso* was published in London, anonymously, and the basis of the ascription to Mr. Digges lies in a written statement on the title page of the copy in the New York Public Library, "By Mr. Digges of Warburton, Maryland." If this seems rather slight evidence, it must be remembered that practically all romances were published anonymously in those days, being not too respectable, and that much later even *Waverly* was issued without Scott's name on the title page. Mr. Elias has proceeded in a scholarly manner to establish the biography of Digges, who was a Roman Catholic gentleman, born in Maryland, educated in England, interested in commerce, for some years a resident of Lisbon, and a stout adherent, during the Revolution, of the patriotic cause. He returned to Maryland sometime in 1798 or 1799 and died there in 1821.

From internal evidence the author of the book was also a Catholic, educated in England, a resident of Lisbon, and a traveler. *The Adventures of Alonso*, however, is the picaresque romance of a Portuguese who elopes with a married woman, wanders over the South American continent, becomes a slave to a Moor, and finally returns to his native home to find his mistress a corpse. It has nothing to do with America, but then neither has the first American play, Godfrey's *Prince of Parthia*. It was a fashion at that time to lay the scenes of romance in a Latin country. But it is obvious that the significance of the novel rests entirely on the validity of its attribution to Thomas Digges. If he was *not* the author, it is simply one of the many romances of the time, published in London, with which we are not concerned. If he *did* compose it, it is the first novel written by a citizen of the United States and the first to be translated, a German version being published in Leipzig in 1787. Mr. Elias has marshaled his arguments skillfully; he has spared no pains to secure specimens of Digges's handwriting in various libraries, and his discussion and description of the extant specimens of the novel have been conducted with an admirable thoroughness. If his arguments are not entirely convincing, this is due rather to the elusive circumstances surrounding the publication of American fiction in the eighteenth century than to any flaws in his logic.

University of Pennsylvania

ARTHUR H. QUINN

MUTINY IN JANUARY: THE STORY OF A CRISIS IN THE CONTINENTAL ARMY, NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME FULLY TOLD FROM MANY HITHERTO UNKNOWN OR NEGLECTED SOURCES BOTH BRITISH AND AMERICAN. By *Carl Van Doren*. (New York: Viking Press. 1943. Pp. 288. \$3.50.)

THIS story of the American mutinies of 1781 is a worthy afterpiece to the author's excellent *Secret History of the American Revolution*. It is made from the elusive records of dark episodes, made darker by the secrecy of participants and gossip of the public. The pages bristle with mutineers, spies, counterspies,

and double dealers who cross and recross the murky Hudson between dusk and dawn, who dodge sentries, tempt patriots, bribe Tories, haunt taverns, hide in farmhouses, and dangle from the gallows or crumple from the bullets of firing squads.

The sources are well digested and none is missed. These include the papers of Washington, Wayne, Reed, Greene, Sullivan, St. Clair, Denny, the Continental Congress and its members, the Pennsylvania and New Jersey archives, and the New York Public Library's "Private Intelligence as to the American Army" and "Information of Deserters." From the Sir Henry Clinton Papers, the journal of chief British secret service agent Oliver De Lancey is reproduced in full, the letters of agent Andrew Gautier deciphered, and the correspondence of the general himself thoroughly winnowed. Orderly books, military journals and reports, court-martial proceedings, diaries, and memoirs are drawn upon, and conflicting and vague information evaluated. Historians, rightfully suspicious of the irresponsibles in the field of historical literature, will gratefully recognize the complete reliability of this dispassionate and well-balanced production by one of America's foremost literary masters.

The mutiny of the Pennsylvania Line at Mount Kemble, near Morristown, New Jersey, the march on Princeton, and the settlement with state and congressional agents at Trenton are made the central theme of the story. The abundant grievances of the Army concerning food, clothing, pay, enlistment terms, and general mismanagement and neglect are shown to have produced a sincere uprising, a disposition in the commanding officers to defend their men, and a self-control in the men themselves. Offers from the British were spurned, thefts of supplies from countryside farmers were punished by the mutineers, suggestions to besiege Congress were voted down, hundreds of mutineers re-enlisted, and the underlying sympathy of the public was maintained. Above all, the movement brought far-reaching results by producing ameliorative legislation by most of the Northern states. Indeed, the statesmanlike self-management of this mutiny was in itself a justification for the complete and forceful suppression of the ill-managed and abusive after-mutinies at Pompton and York.

The author presents a new type of documentation in the form of an appendix containing a chronological list of letters and other source items with references back to the chapter and section in which they are used. This has its disadvantages for the footnote-minded historian, but, since the book is written in the new tradition of combining attractive format and sound scholarship for the general public, it may not be asking too much of the professional historian to do his own footnote hunting. The index is excellent.

Smith College

RANDOLPH C. DOWNES

JOHN PAUL JONES: FIGHTER FOR FREEDOM AND GLORY. By Lincoln Lorenz. (Annapolis: United States Naval Institute. 1943. Pp. xxii, 846. \$5.00.)

THIS comprehensive well-documented biography of John Paul Jones describes in detail his formative years, his services in the Continental Navy and with the French and Russian navies. While drawing freely on previously published biographies, the author has checked the data wherever possible with the original sources and has added to our information about his subject. The biographer's enthusiasm for Commodore Jones has led him to deal severely not only with Landais, the Lees, Silas Deane, John and Samuel Adams, and Commodore Nicholson but even with Benjamin Franklin, when that frugal philosopher chided Commodore Jones about his careless bookkeeping.

Commodore Jones was commissioned a first lieutenant in 1775, served in the Continental Navy until 1782, and subsequently for short periods in the French and Russian navies. Of his scant seven years in the American Navy, four were spent ashore seeking commands and fitting out ships. He amused his unwanted leisure with the ladies whom he always admired and with whom he was a prime favorite. He was almost as familiar with Parisian society as his patron Benjamin Franklin.

Present American interest in John Paul Jones results from his career in the Continental Navy and his abiding influence upon the United States Navy. Among unbiased contemporaries Jones was acclaimed foremost in a service which included such famous captains as Barry, Barney, Biddle, Manley, James Nicholson, Wickes, and Conyngham. Our first naval historian, James F. Cooper, confirms this opinion, which has been endorsed by practically all subsequent American naval historians, including Mahan, and has been accepted by virtually all American naval officers.

During his three years at sea Jones immediately attracted the favorable notice of Congress while commanding the *Providence*. Subsequently he crowded his naval achievements into three short cruises: the first, of about eight weeks, in the *Alfred* off Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island; the second, of exactly one month, in the *Ranger* in the Irish Sea, when he took *HMS Drake*; and the third, of six weeks, circumnavigating the British Isles in the *Bon Homme Richard* and capturing the British frigate *Serapis*.

The Commodore was not a favorite of fortune. In spite of his distinguished services on the *Alfred* and *Ranger*, he was superseded in command. The *Bon Homme Richard* was so badly damaged she was abandoned. His hard-won prize the *Serapis* was turned over to the French government. He was deprived of command of the *Alliance* by the intrigues of Landais and finally had to deliver the ship *America* to the French government. His pre-eminence in the Continental Navy was due to his genius for naval warfare plus a consuming ambition which led him to cultivate his natural talents energetically, a fearlessness notable in a fearless profession, and, finally, an indomitable will power which would not admit defeat.

He was at his best in battle when every faculty was alive and vibrant; his instantaneous mental reactions became more correct as the dangers mounted. These traits raised him head and shoulders above his contemporaries and have inspired succeeding generations of American naval officers.

Commodore Jones foresaw the future greatness of our nation and Navy. He insisted that naval officers must be educated gentlemen as well as competent seamen. Had he remained in the United States, he might have lived to re-create the Navy in 1798. He expended his physical strength in the service of the ungrateful Catherine and left for Commodore Truxtun, the privateersman he reprimanded in Quiberon Bay, the honor of founding the Navy he had so confidently anticipated.

Washington, D. C.

W. D. PULESTON

THE PRESIDENTS AND CIVIL DISORDER. By *Bennett Milton Rich*. [The Institute for Government Research of the Brookings Institution, Studies in Administration, No. 42.] (Washington: Brookings Institution. 1941. Pp. x, 235. \$2.00.)

This is a thorough and well-balanced study in a field of constitutional interpretation in which presidential judgment has been the main determinative factor. Since 1792 the President has been authorized by Congress to call forth the state militias to suppress combinations obstructive to the national laws and to repress, subject to the provisions of Article IV, section 4, of the Constitution, insurrection within the several states; and in 1807 like authority was conferred upon him with respect to the national forces. Prior to the Civil War action in the two spheres of power, national and local, was kept distinct. The earliest case of military intervention by the President in support of national authority was afforded by President Washington's suppression of the Whiskey Rebellion in 1794; while Dorr's Rebellion in Rhode Island a half century later, although it did not actually result in presidential intervention against "domestic violence" in a state, came near enough to warrant Mr. Rich in treating Tyler's course as setting the leading precedent.

For the period since the Civil War the story is a rather different one. Enlarged conceptions of national power have operated at times to merge the two types of intervention and consequently to weaken the restrictive effect of Article IV, section 4, a development which is well borne out by a comparison of Hayes's course in the great railway strikes of 1877 and Cleveland's course in the Pullman strike of 1894. But the greatest potential threat to the safeguards of Article IV is undoubtedly that presented by Section 5299 R.S. (originally enacted April 20, 1871), which purports to authorize the President to intervene with military force against combinations in any state which so obstruct "the execution of the laws thereof or of the United States as to deprive any portion or class of people of such state" of any of their constitutional rights. To date the potentialities of this provision have not been actualized in presidential practice.

The chief value of Mr. Rich's volume comes from its accurate and discriminating accounts of the episodes with which it deals and its sensible and well-argued criticisms from the point of view both of law and policy of presidential actions in connection with such episodes. The chapter on President Roosevelt's use of the regular troops in the summer of 1941 in connection with the strike in the plant of North American Aviation, Inc., at Los Angeles has, however, a more topical interest. The President's action, which far exceeded all previous precedents, was accommodately justified by Attorney General Jackson as an exercise of the "aggregate of the President's powers derived from the Constitution itself and from statutes enacted by Congress," the statutes referred to being, apparently, certain congressional appropriations "to equip an enlarged army and to provide a strengthened Navy"! This opinion of the attorney general and his comparable performance in justification of the fifty destroyer deal must be regarded as of first importance in shaping the constitutional pattern, to date, of our present war effort.

Mr. Rich's footnotes are sometimes as interesting as his text. I invite the reader's attention to note 58 on page 50, note 2 on pages 121-22, and note 35 on page 185. The discussion of "The President and Martial Law" (pp. 208-11) suffers from the author's failure to take account of *Moyer v. Peabody*, 212 U. S., 78. *Sterling v. Constantin*, 287 U. S., 378, also might profitably have received attention in connection with the North American Aviation strike. Misprints are few and for the most part unimportant, but the opening sentence of the paragraph on page 180 requires some tinkering to make it yield grammatical sense.

Princeton University

EDWARD S. CORWIN

RICHARD RUSH: REPUBLICAN DIPLOMAT, 1780-1859. By J. H. Powell. [Pennsylvania Lives.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1942. Pp. vi, 291. \$2.75.)

THE account of this long and busy life falls naturally into a number of periods of activity: in early manhood as a practicing lawyer Richard Rush was active in state politics in Pennsylvania; in the administration of Madison he served as comptroller of the Treasury, where he did a painstaking and laborious job, and as attorney general, where he did the routine without brilliance or distinction; in the administration of Monroe he served for a short time both as attorney general and acting Secretary of State, in which latter capacity he completed the agreement with Bagot, and later as minister to England, where he negotiated the Convention of 1818 with Castlereagh and received and parried the overtures of Canning at the time of the formulation of the Monroe Doctrine. In the administration of John Quincy Adams he served as Secretary of the Treasury, where he solved no major problems but took part in trying to popularize the American system in his official reports; by the election of Jackson he was defeated for the vice presidency and retired to private life for a few administrations but soon managed to get into

the good graces of the party in power and get a few minor public and private appointments. In the administration of Polk, Rush was sent as minister to France, where he had opportunity during the revolution of 1848 to participate in interesting experiences without achieving any substantial results for his country. Throughout his life he had time to write articles, pamphlets, reports, journals, and letters on political, economic, and other subjects.

The period of Rush's most valuable service was perhaps during his ministry to England. At that time, as in the case of the Thomas Pinckney treaty, the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, and on other occasions, the situation in Europe was quite as much responsible for favorable treaties as was the ability of our diplomat. Castlereagh and Canning were willing to grant to the United States certain things in order to have her as a known and reconciled friend. They were willing to give more in order to secure her as an open ally or satellite in the European balance of power. Rush's credit lies in the fact that he so conducted himself that he probably got all that anyone could have got without committing our country to dependence on England.

The book is singularly free from errors. Some might object to the author's speaking of a Democratic party as early as 1808 or to blaming the Holy Alliance rather than the Quadruple Alliance with threatening intervention. Some might feel that the explanation of John Quincy Adams' administration implies too much. That is, by using such expressions as "economic planning" and "blueprints," the reader accustomed to the New Deal may assume details that most advocates of the American system did not think of. The author is, however, substantially correct and his treatment is no doubt justified. The expression *gravel kind* (p. 98) is perhaps a misprint.

The author must be commended for his scholarly treatment. He neither eulogizes nor condemns but lets his statement of the facts and quotations do this. The nearest he comes to attempting to state his own evaluation of Rush is perhaps in the following: "participated in exciting events near leaders of men and thought," "served devotedly and usefully," "never a popular champion of a cause," and "not one of the positions Rush held was an elective office." The absence of footnotes may perhaps be justified on the ground that the definitive biography is still to be written when the collection of Rush papers is made available. The present volume supplies a long-felt need.

Indiana University

A. L. KOHLMEIER

OUR SOLDIERS SPEAK, 1775-1918. By *William Matthews and Dixon Wecter*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1943. Pp. xi, 365. \$3.50.)

"I'm so d—— disgusted with the way things are run that I don't know what to do, one may as well get shot and go back to a hospital."

This happens to be the complaint of an Indiana doughboy in World War I. But it might well have emanated from one of Washington's shivering Continentals

at Valley Forge or from one of Hood's bedraggled Rebs in Tennessee. Fighting men of all eras have manifested many common traits—particularly if they were Americans.

Our Soldiers Speak brings into bold relief these universal and inveterate qualities of the American rank and file. Especially noteworthy are these: a revulsion for staff officers, supply personnel, and other incumbents of allegedly "bomb-proof" positions; initial enthusiasm for soldiering, followed by disillusionment and war weariness—but withal a dogged determination "to stick it out to the bitter end"; a penchant for "grousing," particularly about food, doctors, hospitals, generals, and army administration; exaggerated concern for womankind; a toughening of body and spirit, accompanied by a deterioration of habits and morals; a firm reliance on luck or fate; and a bent for slang and catchwords.

Authors Matthews and Wecter let the American fighting man speak through the medium of his diaries, letters, and reminiscences. The first group to take the stage are the soldiers and sailors of the Revolution. Then the spotlight is turned in succession on participants of the War of 1812, the Texas Revolution, the Mexican War, the conflict of the sixties, and the Spanish-American War. The concluding episode portrays the exploits of the soldiers, sailors, and marines of the first World War. The narrators throughout are private soldiers or non-commissioned officers.

But this is not a mere compilation. The authors fit the selections into a steadily progressing narrative. Connecting material interposed by the authors sometimes runs for several pages. A soldier is permitted to speak only after the stage has been properly set. And if his piece extends to campaigns beyond the one under consideration, he is forced to yield temporarily to some comrade whose narrative is immediately pertinent. By clever utilization of this chronological device a gratifying degree of continuity is achieved.

A work such as this is by its very nature uneven. Some of the correspondents and diarists are educated and others are barely literate. Some are realists and others are sentimentalists. Some are careful observers and others are slipshod. Some are truthful and others, I suspect, are liars. But of such are armies made, and the testimony of all is enlightening.

The authors draw almost exclusively on printed materials. In so doing they withhold from the reader some of the most vivid and the most human of soldier testimony. For the Civil War the richest and the most illuminating letters and diaries are to be found among unpublished collections, and it seems reasonable to infer that this holds true for other conflicts. Reliance on printed material also tends to distort the picture in favor of the better-situated soldier, for documents of yeomen have been printed in much less profusion than those of higher classes.

Diaries are cited more frequently than letters. This also may be a defect. The man who kept a diary was apt to take into consideration the fact that he was writing for posterity. Consequently he tended to omit unsavory items or to gloss over them. The man writing to his close relatives at home—in the days before

censorship was inaugurated—was usually not writing with an eye to history, particularly if he was a rustic. Rather, he was delivering himself for the moment, on subjects uppermost in his mind. It is probable, therefore, that he was more apt to tell the whole truth than was the diarist. The question of class is also applicable in this connection. For the rustic was much less given to keeping journals than was the person of higher social and economic standing.

But this may be quibbling unduly over matters of little moment. Authors Matthews and Wecter have performed a difficult task. And they have acquitted themselves in a way that will be pleasing to the general reader and profitable to the historian.

Memphis, Tennessee

BELL I. WILEY

THE YEAR OF DECISION, 1846. By *Bernard DeVoto*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1943. Pp. xv, 538. \$3.50.)

QUOTING Thoreau: "On this side is the city, on that the wilderness. . . . I must walk toward Oregon, and not toward Europe," Bernard DeVoto has given play to his own urge toward the "secret treasure" of the "arid West" and has done him a book on 1846. He has written as a man of letters, steeped in his year, oozing *obiter dicta* and at times acid because the historians' neglect of golden opportunity has forced him to do much of his own spadework in the sources. But he has done a brilliant job on the borderland common to the historian, the essayist, and the analyst. If 1846 was perhaps merely the year between 1845 and 1847, rather than the *Year of Decision* as he portrays it, it was still a year of striking event. At its spring equinox the United States had no clear title to an inch of land beyond the Rockies; a year later it was in physical possession of the Pacific Coast from San Diego to Puget Sound; and in yet another year the documents registering the expansion had been signed and sealed. The United States had become a Pacific power without knowing what either the Pacific or the power would mean to the world. But the decisions—if indeed they were decisions, rather than social reflexes—were already of the remote past. For a century the frontier had been on its way West. It would have reached Oregon and California substantially when it did if there had been no 1846 in the calendar.

The method of the book is novel. Like the leader of an orchestra, DeVoto directs a chronological symphony, waving up or down, at his will, the instruments—the winds, the drums, or the strings. Whether Frémont should be chief among the winds, Taylor among the drums, the unhappy Donners among the strings, and Whitman (Walt) and Parkman among the triangles are matters of symphonic judgment. Not since Archer Butler Hulbert wove the stories of the trails into a synthetic narrative of high-class historical fiction, "*Forty-Niners*," have we had a more ambitious or interesting attempt to render detail into tone and flavor. So much of what happened is recorded that the reader is left feeling that all has passed under his eye. He must, however, read the whole to get the whole. Great

men and small, the actors march. Heroism, cannibalism, political intrigue, and plural wives are all here.

The chapter headings do not help the reader much. "Build Thee More Stately Mansions" is the author's caption for Manifest Destiny, on which the book opens. The volume ends with DeVoto's rejoinder to the lament of Emerson: "The United States will conquer Mexico, but it will be as the man swallows the arsenic which brings him down in turn. Mexico will poison us." The title of the last chapter, "Bill of Review—Dismissed," has no meaning until the reader learns that the Confederacy, trying to turn back the clock, filed the bill, leaving it to continental nationalism, based upon expansion, to dismiss the bill. "The past," the author ends, "was not going to win the appeal to arms, the continental nation was not going to be Balkanized, it was going to remain an empire and dominate the future." In the decision, if not in all the *dicta*, the reviewer concurs.

Berkeley, California

FREDERIC L. PAXSON

LEE'S LIEUTENANTS: A STUDY IN COMMAND. By *Douglas Southall Freeman*. Volume II, CEDAR MOUNTAIN TO CHANCELLORSVILLE. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1943. Pp. xlv, 760. \$5.00.)

THE three volumes making up this series, a companion study to the author's famous *R. E. Lee*, would in normal circumstances have been published simultaneously. Because of the war Dr. Freeman is releasing them one at a time. He rightly feels that the experiences of the Army of Northern Virginia in selecting, training, and handling its subordinate commanders is of value to the nation today. Praiseworthy as this motive is, it does not diminish the impatience of the reader who would like to have the whole series at his disposal in order to follow the careers of Lee's officers, nor does it favor the reviewer who is called upon to comment on a work of which he has seen only a part.

The first volume, which took Lee's lieutenants from Manassas to Malvern Hill, was discussed in an earlier issue of this *Review* (XLVIII, 592-93). Jackson emerged from these campaigns as a brilliant but somewhat erratic subordinate. At the close of Malvern Hill there were grave doubts about his capacity to carry out an independent command. At the close of Chancellorsville these doubts were replaced by the question: can the Army of Northern Virginia win without Jackson? Though other colorful and able leaders appear in lesser roles, the main character in the first two volumes is Jackson. Dr. Freeman deliberately keeps Lee in the background in order that he may not overshadow the lesser figures he is attempting to sketch and assess against the background of military events. Nevertheless Lee appears again as the leader whose tact and patience made up for fundamental weaknesses in the Confederate war machinery. From the military standpoint his supreme contribution to the conduct of the war during the period covered in the first two volumes is to be found in his judicious scaling down of plans to conform to the limited experience of his staff and line officers.

Below Jackson in ability, importance, and interest are such leaders as Longstreet, D. H. Hill, Stuart, Ewell, A. P. Hill, Early, and Hood. They were the men of secondary rank on whom Lee had to rely for the execution of his strategic plans. Beneath them were a corps of lesser officers such as Anderson, W. H. Pendleton, Winder, Trimble, Garland, McLaws, Cooke, Gregg, Gordon, Pelham, Rodes, Hampton, Pickett, Hoke, Pender, Wilcox, Ramseur, Archer, and Peagram. The average age of these officers in 1862 was well under forty. They seldom commanded a unit larger than a brigade and were still learning the business of military administration and tactics. They were not yet capable of dealing with strategy, but as casualties cut down the ranks of higher officers, they were often called upon to command divisions.

The personnel and reorganization problems which faced Lee after every major battle will come as something of a surprise to the average civilian reader. By 1862 the casualties in the ranks of brigade and divisional commanders were so heavy that the Army of Northern Virginia was never quite sure who its subordinate commanders would be in the next campaign. After Chancellorsville "the school of combat did not graduate sufficient men to make good the casualties of instruction." When the wellsprings of Confederate officer material dried up, hopes of an eventual victory diminished.

In Dr. Freeman's opinion the operational history of the Army of Northern Virginia remains substantially as it appeared after the publication of Lee's confidential dispatches to Davis in 1915. Research on the present series has uncovered material on Jackson's early campaigns and his tendency for quarreling with his subordinates, which was not available to Henderson or other Jackson biographers. The second volume throws some new light on the battles of Cedar Mountain and Suffolk, but Freeman is convinced that future historians will find a more rewarding field for study in the "men and morale" of the Army of Northern Virginia than in further studies of its tactics and strategy.

The high standard of scholarship and style set by Dr. Freeman in his *R. E. Lee* has been maintained throughout the present work. Considered together, as they should be, these two works will not only constitute a major contribution to the history of the period but will set a standard for American military biography.

Washington, D. C.

H. A. DEWEERD

THE HIDDEN CIVIL WAR: THE STORY OF THE COPPERHEADS. By Wood Gray, Associate Professor of American History, the George Washington University. (New York: Viking Press. 1942. Pp. 314. \$3.75.)

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND THE FIFTH COLUMN. By George Fort Milton. (New York: Vanguard Press. 1942. Pp. xiv, 364. \$3.50.)

WITH its penetrating research Mr. Gray's volume has achieved an important contribution to Civil War literature. Both its title and subtitle, however, promise rather more than the work even attempts to deliver. The book is a study of the

forces of defeatism in the Middle West, its great stronghold. Other areas are more casually surveyed—often with skillful touches—in a concluding chapter, which does not pretend to be definitive. *The Old Guard*, the Copperhead publication of C. Chauncey Burr, is not even mentioned. The use of the term “Copperhead” is not discussed before page 140; this follows well after various references to the Knights of the Golden Circle and other of the anti-war secret societies. One can understand such a lapse in logical organization when it is noted that the book is primarily a survey of the successive moods that dominated the popular outlook upon the war. In this particular it reveals “the opposition” as none too “loyal” in the British sense, as colored by forces varying all the way from active concern about the maintenance of the traditions of American federalism and liberty to unconcealed sympathy for the peculiar institution of the South—if not for the Southern Confederacy. But, more important, it reveals the repeated ebb and flow from popular confidence to disgust and despair. The period before Sumter was the “Period of Indecision”; there followed a ten-month “Period of Impatience,” which yielded after the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson to a “Period of Confidence,” continuing to the end of August, 1862. Then came a “Period of Disgust,” by way of reaction to the failure of the Peninsular Campaign, to the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation, and to the other forces which explain the opposition victories in the elections of 1862. Disgust yielded to “Despair,” with Clement L. Vallandigham, the arch-Copperhead, plying his trade with especial effect as the defeatist chorus grew and Republican morale crumbled with the grim threat of conscription as the only practical way of bolstering the Union armies. In this crisis the Union League lent important aid, and the situation was gradually getting under control when Vicksburg and Gettysburg ushered in a “Period of Renewed Hope,” with a year of victories in the field. Soon, however, a new Copperhead militancy, represented by the Order of American Knights and later by the Sons of Liberty, undermined the confidence of many and, when the administration forces were rent by schism in the presidential campaign of 1864, “Weariness” sometimes approached black despair. Sherman’s victory at Atlanta and Sheridan’s successes in the Shenandoah Valley brought an almost ecstatic “Period of Victory,” which lasted until the Confederacy had to acknowledge its defeat. Throughout these vicissitudes of fortune the defeatist forces pleaded their cause, and Mr. Gray has achieved a notable appraisal of their varying fortunes.

If the drama of conflict is largely overlooked in Mr. Gray’s effort to measure in detail the fluctuations in the public pulse, it finds full—almost journalistic—sweep in Mr. Milton’s work. There the leading personalities of the underground struggle are given their opportunities to stride the boards in more nearly full panoply. There are to be sure few real stellar roles. The workings of the Copperhead societies are sketched in bold strokes with the seditious intrigues of leaders like Phineas C. Wright, Dr. George W. L. Bickley, Dr. William Bowles, and others appearing from the shadows. The maneuvers of the chiefs of the army of detectives, secret agents, spies, and betrayers who—with all their greed for financial rewards—

counterplotted to trap the conspirators are less adequately traced, with the lurid tales of Felix E. Stiger, "the spy complete," retailed at their face value and frankly left to the reader to discount. The larger roles of Vallandigham, the master of political fifth-columnism, of Governor Seymour, "the leader of the loyal opposition," and of Governor Morton, the wartime "dictator of Indiana," are well delineated. At least two chapters cut through the complexities of wartime politics that enabled Abraham Lincoln, master politician, to develop into the stature of statesman. Though Jefferson Davis is intermittently credited with a strategy of exploiting the disaffected forces of the North, one would like to know more of his exact involvement in the plans of Confederate Commissioners in Canada and of Confederate agents in the Northwest.

While it would, perhaps, be asking the impossible in this case, one must note that, shunning footnote citations, Mr. Milton provides no machinery for either amplification or effective verification. His researches in the National Archives are apparent in certain parts of his narrative, but many sections are clearly based on the treatises and monographic studies of others, at least one of which (Ollinger Crenshaw, "The Knights of the Golden Circle: The Career of George Bickley," *American Historical Review*, XLVII, 23-50) is not even indicated in his bibliography. His facile pen does not altogether conceal evidences of hasty compilation. A chapter on "The Anatomy of Treason" has definite merit in itself but seems rather artificially set into a narrative, parts of which it overlaps more than should be necessary.

In the matter of citations Mr. Gray's references—in the rear—are often too detailed and specific to serve the purpose effectively. His publishers—and others—could simplify the critic's problem considerably by supplying the chapter title (after the number) in rear-end citations. Mr. Milton's publishers—and others—might well recognize that scholars can never quite excuse the disregard of scholarly paraphernalia on the shabby ground of the prejudice of the general reader against references.

Western Reserve University

ARTHUR C. COLE

CONFEDERATE MISSISSIPPI: THE PEOPLE AND POLICIES OF A COTTON STATE IN WARTIME. By *John K. Bettersworth*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1943. Pp. xi, 386. \$3.00.)

PROFESSOR Bettersworth has made a thorough study of Mississippi in wartime from the original sources and has presented his material in a well-written volume which will be invaluable to students of Southern history and the Civil War.

The book opens with a discussion of events leading to the secession of Mississippi and the not altogether unanimous approval of the people. The "Fire-Eaters," however, promised to "drink every drop of blood that is shed by this action of secession" (p. 6). When the blood-letting began, most of the Unionists supported

the Confederacy. In fact, the enthusiasm of the citizens to fight greatly embarrassed the state government, which could provide equipment for only a fraction of the volunteers. This proved to be only one of the agonies of the government. Disruption of the currency persisted despite the state's numerous attempts to maintain a stable currency and credit system. Constant rise in prices and unwillingness of the people to abide by the foreclosure proceedings led to a rather general suspension of the functioning of the courts.

The author recounts various cases of friction between the state and the Confederacy and concludes that although there was much annoyance over the question of states rights, the Confederate cause was not seriously injured.

Futile attempts were made to transform the economy of the state and to convert the Kingdom of Cotton to the fabrication of the intricate tools of war. Despite much planning and effort, "by 1865 Mississippi industrial life had practically reverted to primitive conditions" (p. 145). Not only did the state fail in its modest efforts to establish factories but met with only moderate success in converting its agriculture to the production of food crops. Diversification came not from foresight and planning but belatedly, as the result of dire necessity.

Slaves became a serious problem; with fewer masters and overseers on the plantations, the cotton-growing Negroes were, with great difficulty, converted to other tasks. The approach of the Northern armies was often the signal for slaves to run away and join their deliverers. The constant danger of losing slaves and their restricted usefulness caused the real value of slaves to decline during the war (p. 168). The planters, however, were still not willing for them to engage in hazardous tasks, such as building military fortifications. There was talk of putting Negroes into the army, but the war ended before this was done.

Trade through the lines had been established before the end of 1862; it grew and flourished despite confiscations and executions and was so general that respectable planters became actively engaged. "By November, 1864, the onetime villainous contraband trader had actually become a hero in the popular tableaux" (p. 187).

There was much dissent and disloyalty in Mississippi, but the author is unable to find enough evidence to support the thesis that the war was a class struggle. The poor whites did criticize the rich and the slaveholders, but on the whole, they supported the war. Their sharpest criticism was directed at planters who hired substitutes to do their fighting and at the law exempting overseers from military service.

Professor Bettersworth discounts the spectacular story that Jones County, in the piney woods section of south Mississippi, seceded from the Confederacy and became the Republic of Jones. He does find that Newton Knight and his band of outlaws defied the courts and for a time terrorized the region. "The evidence that Jones County seceded is rather scant. Anarchy rather than government prevailed in the 'free state' during the war; and one must look in vain for anything like an organized movement of counter-secession" (p. 235).

The concluding chapters deal very adequately with religion, education, the press, and the "amenities."

Millsaps College

ROSS H. MOORE

THE LIFE OF JOHNNY REB: THE COMMON SOLDIER OF THE CONFEDERACY. By *Bell Irvin Wiley*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1943. Pp. 444. \$3.75.)

ONE of General Robert E. Lee's veterans remarked that historians "would hardly stop to tell how the hungry private fried his bacon, baked his biscuit, smoked his pipe." His prophecy of neglect is now belied. Professor Bell Irvin Wiley has elevated the story of Johnny Reb to a high degree of historical consciousness and respectability. In reading this book, one begins to see that much virgin material has too long been neglected. This is true even in the face of the fact that there has been no dearth of books and articles about the Civil War. Many of these, however, have been the work either of contemporaries who sought self-glorification, or of scholars who followed closely on the heels of the generals and the politicians. It has been difficult for the historian to get down in the ranks and ferret out a complete account of what was happening there. The footsore rebel soldier was pretty generally an illiterate who understood nothing of the art of book writing when he came home in 1865. This was a pastime which he left for his former officers, and it was they who told the firsthand story of the war. Also, it was they who have often attracted the attention of the historians who wished to interpret what happened in the battlefield and around the campfire.

The history of the common soldier had to await another day. It was a complex one, and sources for its study were badly scattered. Nearly three quarters of a century of ransacking attics, trunks, bureau drawers, and lock boxes for papers has been necessary to fill in an intelligible picture. In the meantime the place of Johnny Reb in Southern military history, except for a few published diaries and notes, has been largely reflected in long casualty lists and tall tales of wearisome marches and bivouacs. Generally accounts of the common soldier have formed a massed background which was thrown badly out of focus so that major military and political characters could be more sharply portrayed.

Despite the fact that he wrote no books and was never glorified in voluminous regimental histories, the private Confederate soldier did leave a colorful record. He was an inveterate letter writer. An Alabamian expressed the sentiment of the Southern soldier (p. 193) when he scribbled, "Martha I want you to write often and send me all the nuse for I am one of the glades[t] fellows that you Ever seen when I git a letter from you." This fact kept letters passing back and forth, and these constitute a vital picture of the war.

Professor Wiley has let Johnny Reb tell most of his story. He has stood by and wisely guided his clumsy hand to a proper conclusion with good organization. Because of the author's understanding of his subject, several significant facts stand

out in this book. The private Confederate soldier, on the whole, had a miserable education. His conception of the war and its conditions was as hazy as were his notions of spelling, and his spirit seldom if ever followed an even tenor. But of greater significance is the fact that the Reb was after all a soldier no different from those in any army. He was caught up in the excitement of the intersectional struggle and he reacted to it with the fullest degree of humanity. At first he believed he could whip three and four times his number in Yankees, and by the end of the third year of the struggle he was completely war weary. In seventeen chapters the author follows the rebel's history. From a baptism of fire to an account of the heterogeneity of the Southern army he keeps in the foreground the spirit of the private soldier and his place in the war.

This book is a frank, down-to-earth account of the war. Johnny Reb would approve of it; his few surviving daughters will generally loathe it, but his granddaughters will read into it much of the lives of their husbands and sons at Guadalcanal and in Tunisia. In two respects the *Life of Johnny Reb* is a landmark in the writing of Southern history. Professor Wiley has uncovered a new and significant source of historical material from which he has captured a homespun spirit which is not always flattering but ever solid and human. He has dared to write this straightforward book from a stronghold of the Confederacy, which is within itself a matter of historical significance.

A reviewer could easily quibble with the author on the score that he knows of collections of Confederate papers which should have been investigated, but such criticism would be nothing more than quibbling. These papers would have added color but would not have changed the picture in any significant detail. Professor Wiley investigated an enormous volume of source material, and he has fitted it into one of the major studies of the Civil War. Ample notes, bibliography, and index bear testimony of the book's thoroughness.

University of Kentucky

THOMAS D. CLARK

THE AMERICAN LEONARDO: A LIFE OF SAMUEL F. B. MORSE. By Carleton Mabee. With an Introduction by Allan Nevins. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1943. Pp. xix, 420, xv. \$5.00.)

MORE than one reviewer has taken Mr. Mabee to task for entitling his biography of Samuel F. B. Morse *The American Leonardo*, on the score that the American artist and inventor is in no conceivable sense comparable to the great Italian. Mr. Mabee might have been forearmed by making it clear that nineteenth century Americans loved to designate their fellow citizens as the American counterpart of this or that European celebrity: it was an unconscious recognition of the fact that American culture was European in origin and nature and a conscious effort to enhance American achievements by associating them with those of eminent Old World figures.

Like all competent biographers Mr. Mabee has apparently left no stone un-

turned to discover fresh materials and to seek out the haunts of his subject. The new materials do not seem greatly to change existing knowledge of Morse. They do result in discrediting minor legends and in calling attention to hitherto overlooked minor achievements, such as Morse's part in the founding of the *New York Journal of Commerce*. And the documentary material Mr. Mabee has come on does enrich our understanding of Morse, especially of his character, mind, and career as an artist. Mr. Mabee has presented many rich details on the status of art in American society in the first half of the nineteenth century. But it is clear that we very much need a thorough study of this whole subject.

Mr. Mabee writes sympathetically yet judiciously of the painter, inventor, pamphleteer, politician, and man. In spite of the existence of two fair biographies of Morse, a new biographer of so controversial a figure was inevitably confronted by problems requiring keen discrimination, sound judgment, and good sense. In the handling of the controversial aspects of Morse's career Mr. Mabee has shown that he possesses these qualities. Few open-minded readers are likely to quarrel with Mr. Mabee's attributions of credit in the invention of the telegraph. He demonstrates, without detracting from the contributions of others, that Morse's ability to see relationships in a creative way, his manipulative skill, his persistence, and his organizing and promoting talents give him a special place of priority in an invention which rested on many venerable ideas and on the indispensable work of scientific predecessors and contemporaries. Mr. Mabee is to be especially commended for his sensitive and sensible handling of the problems posed by the mercurial self-evaluations and tense combats of Morse with his rivals in every sphere of his versatile activities. Mr. Mabee has also dealt adequately with the problems posed by the changing reputation of Morse and his final triumph over obscurity and indifference.

The biographer of a leading figure in intellectual history is confronted by special problems from which the general biographer is in part free. He must have a conception of the inner structure of the ideas most pertinent to his subject; a philosophy of the creative element in the formulation and expression of new ideas; he must understand a good deal about the ways in which his subject's environment influences his ideas and achievements and how in turn his subject affects the thought and culture of his own time and that of posterity. All biographers of figures in intellectual life might well state as explicitly as Mr. Mabee does their frame of reference. He expresses preference for Jeffersonianism in politics, for congregationalism in church government, for the concept of creativity as "very nearly an end in itself," and for the usefulness of inventions to society—"whether in the long run they are to be used primarily to satiate our senses and chain our minds to the interests of power, class, nation, or race, or whether they are to be used to break the barriers that divide us and to free our spirits." One wishes that Mr. Mabee had more pointedly, throughout his text, used this criterion in analyzing his subject. Had he done so he might have illuminated more tellingly the somewhat sterile discussions of Morse's relation to cultural nationalism, to nativ-

ism, to proslavery and Copperheadism, to the entrepreneurs with whom he at length achieved fortune. Yet his book, as it stands, is a fine achievement. It is well documented, well written, scholarly, and humane. Its attractive format is enhanced by twenty-one illustrations, including Morse's best portraits and historical paintings.

University of Wisconsin

MERLE CURTI

THE WRIGHT BROTHERS. By *Fred C. Kelly*. A biography authorized by Orville Wright. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1943. Pp. 340. \$3.50.)

MANY articles and stories have appeared on the work of the Wright brothers, but a definitive book has long been overdue. Mr. Kelly, in this book, authorized by Orville Wright and most certainly written with his co-operation, has written the definitive book in a clear, concise style, nowhere too technical, nowhere too sensational.

The author finds the question frequently asked as to who was the leader in this venture. His history of the brothers' early boyhood shows that they were equal partners. Both of them possessed remarkable imagination and initiative of which the number of their boyhood enterprises is irrefutable evidence. These included newspapers, shops, printing, and the manufacture of bicycles. From the bicycles they might have progressed to the automobile but, fortunately, decided that they would tackle the flying machine in which they had been interested since they had, as children, played with a toy helicopter.

It has been disparagingly said that the Wrights were men of little education. It is true that neither of the brothers went through college or received an advanced scientific education, but Mr. Kelly makes it clear that they were true scientists nonetheless. They began their work by reading everything available on the subject of flying, went on then to thoroughly scientific experiments of flying kites, and then logically passed on to the man-carrying glider. What is more, they were early pioneers in the wind tunnel and tested more than two hundred types of wind surfaces in their home-made wind tunnel and obtained results which, in general, stand to this day. What could be more scientific in approach? Their gliding experiments at Kitty Hawk culminated in the first power flight on December 17, 1903, a famous date.

Mr. Kelly rightly gives Orville Wright's own account of the historic flight, which can never be surpassed. The extraordinary thing is that so little attention was given to the epochal event by the press, and that little, skeptical and disparaging. Wilbur and Orville made no attempt to exercise secrecy. It was the indifference of the newspapers themselves which prevented their story from being spread, and the great New York *Herald* did not publish its story "The Machine That Flies" until one month after the Kitty Hawk flights. Even after their great flight they encountered little help and much skepticism. The general lack of recognition

amused the Wright brothers more than it pained them. Their knowledge that they had succeeded in the conquest of the air was sufficient reward. Nor did they rest on their laurels but continued their experiments in 1904, 1905, 1906, and 1907.

It is pertinent to these times that the United States Army was not interested. The Board of Ordnance and Fortification received proposals coldly. The War Department refused to send representatives to Dayton. It was only after Europe had discovered the Wrights and they had made successful demonstrations in Europe that the interest of the United States government was really aroused.

Adventures in France until 1909, where they were enthusiastically received, bridged the gap to the business stage. It was on November 22, 1909, that the Wright Company was incorporated and the business of making airplanes began. They did not achieve great fortunes and might readily have given their idea to the world practically without compensation.

The chapter which explains why the Wright plane was exiled makes sad reading for an American. There is no doubt that the Smithsonian Institution did the Wright brothers a great injustice. Subsequent flights made by Glenn Curtiss of a revamped Langley machine only indicated that extensive redesign was needed to convert Langley's conception into an actual flying machine.

If there is any criticism of Mr. Kelly's book at all, it is that not quite enough of the technical history appears. From a technical point of view there have been better accounts, but for the vast general public now interested in aviation Mr. Kelly has provided an honest and fascinating story.

New York University

ALEXANDER KLEMIN

HOW WAR CAME: AN AMERICAN WHITE PAPER, FROM THE FALL OF FRANCE TO PEARL HARBOR. By *Forrest Davis* and *Ernest K. Lindley*. (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1942. Pp. viii, 342. \$2.50.)

THIS deservedly popular volume by two experienced and able authors on contemporary world problems is not only good history but is in itself a very human document that will rate as an important contemporary source on the immediate steps that took us into the second World War. On the other hand, it is not, as the title implies, an *American White Paper* in the usually accepted meaning of the phrase. It is much more interesting and revealing than the official documents issued as *colored books* by state departments on their respective foreign policies. *How War Came* did not emanate from our State Department; the authors did not, and do not, hold office, though they do enjoy the special confidence of the President and the administration. The account is, therefore, very much in the nature of an inside story based on essential governmental records, enriched by the untrammelled use of every type of evidence pertaining to the subject—private and public utterances of statesmen and diplomats; the demands and policies of pressure groups; public opinion as reflected in the press, Gallup Polls, BBC, and

DNB; reports of secret and hectic conferences of ambassadors and representatives of friendly and hostile powers; and, finally, the healthy and unconcealed convictions of the authors themselves. As a consequence much light is thrown on matters which might remain obscure for a long time if the authors had been restricted to the use of governmental material always jealously guarded by the State Department.

Although somewhat journalistic in style and method the volume is replete with fine passages and vivid analyses. Against the clumsy comment on Secretary Hull, that "he was not by nature a jumper at conclusions," there is the striking account of how he "deployed this country's moral suasion and economic strength around the globe in an effort to keep the war from our shores"; of how Mr. Churchill wanted to force the issue with Japan while President Roosevelt felt he could "baby them along for three months"; of Leahy's extraordinary achievements at Vichy, despite Laval and Abetz; of the inception and final phrasing of the articles of the Atlantic Charter; of Assistant Secretary A. A. Berle's belief in the absolute necessity of "holding the Atlantic"; of his appreciation, quite early in the war, of the role of North Africa, and his dispatch of Wasserman to secure the allied position at Dakar; of the new departure in our Atlantic system and overseas expansion in the "destroyers-for-bases" deal; of the hectic diplomatic conferences and negotiations as the sands ran out; and the revealing close-ups of President Roosevelt, especially on the fateful Sunday afternoon when Japan struck at Pearl Harbor.

Adhering strictly to the short period from the summer of 1940 to December 7, 1941, the authors do not present the story of long-range policies. This is an obvious weakness, since the immediate steps in the war with Japan can be understood only if projected against the background of our policy of the Open Door and the hesitant program of appeasement from 1931 down to the freezing of credits a decade later.

As "An American White Paper" the work will ultimately be subjected by critical historians to the touchstone of the official *White Paper*, Ambassador Grew's compilation of documents on Far Eastern affairs, the successive volumes of documents on our foreign relations officially and privately published, and the revelations from the foreign archives of the other powers. Meanwhile the authors have ably established the thesis expressed at the conclusion of the dramatic story of December 7:

The day had been black, one of the most disastrous in American history. Yet, both the President and Mr. Hull could reflect that night that they had preserved America's moral position throughout the difficult prewar years. . . they had resisted the temptation to fight evil with evil: the blood was not on their hands (pp. 23-24).

University of Pennsylvania

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH

A HISTORY OF THE CANADIAN PEOPLE. By *Morden H. Long*, Professor of History, University of Alberta. Volume I, NEW FRANCE. (Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1942. Pp. xiv, 376. \$3.50.)

THIS book lays no claim to originality in the field of research. Based, as it is, upon the spadework of other scholars, it "is an essay in the secondary field of interpretation only, an attempt to tell the story of the Canadian people in the light of our present knowledge" (p. vii). Conservative in tone and interpretation, highly sympathetic toward the people who made French Canada and their problems, this first volume is just that sort of an essay—and nothing more. The story told here has often been told before, on a large scale and on a small one; the most attractive characteristic of this book is the freshness that comes with a retelling by a new raconteur and the interesting, if baffling, mode of presentation.

As all historians know, the author of a historical survey is faced with the necessity of choosing between a strictly chronological narrative that is all-inclusive and a topical analysis that confines itself in turn to each topic discussed in an order of presentation which can hardly be anything but arbitrary—at the expense of any chronological unity for the whole. Professor Long has here chosen the topical arrangement, with the consequent danger of confusing the student. For example, his first narrative chapter (after the chapters on physical and racial backgrounds) is devoted to "The Epic of Exploration and the Fur Trade." This chapter, a well-written essay on this subject, takes the story of exploration and the fur trade through the expeditions of the La Verendryes, for a total of over one hundred pages. Then the author starts over again with "The Growth of Settlement" (chapter iv), and we read of the colonizing attempt of Cartier and Roberval for the first time, on page 111, after just having finished the story of La Verendrye. This narrative is carried through the French period, with the growth of population and the expansion of settlement to about 1750. Then we go back again, in the chapter on "The Seigniorial System," to Roberval and the Seigneury granted Louis Hébert in 1623. The essay on the seigneuries—an excellent brief description, by the way—covers the entire French period. Similarly, the chapters on "The Church in New France," "The Economic Life of New France," "Government and Political Life," and "The Struggle for North America," clear and satisfying as they are, require a chronological agility in the reader not usually possessed by university students and hardly more to be expected in lay readers.

The book must therefore be described as a series of separate essays on the above-named phases of life in French Canada. The essays have little apparent relationship to each other, although it might be argued that there is an organic relationship between them in the very nature of human life. If this were admitted, however, it might then become necessary to revise the order of presentation in such a way as to move from the more basic or essential activities, such as settlement and economic life, into the less basic or unessential activities, such as religion

or cultural life—the latter of which, by the way, the author almost fails to mention. This, however, is not a matter for a reviewer to decide!

The topical arrangement certainly has its own advantages. It is difficult to find a book where the history of the church in French Canada is treated as a whole, or where the economic history is described as completely and in as unified a pattern, as it is here. The story of the conflict for the continent is told as a unit, from its beginning to its end, in one good chapter. Nothing is said about the diplomatic side of that conflict, unfortunately, and the reader is left with no intimation that genuine efforts were made from time to time, but especially between 1748 and 1756, to settle the points at issue between the French colonies and the English by peaceful means.

Errors of fact are numerous but unimportant; the bibliography at the end of the book is small but well selected. As a series of essays on the various aspects of life in French Canada, then, this book is a good and useful survey.

Stanford University

MAX SAVELLE

LANDA'S RELACIÓN DE LAS COSAS DE YUCATAN: A TRANSLATION. Edited with Notes by *Alfred M. Tozzer*. [Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Vol. XVIII.] (Cambridge: the Museum. 1941. Pp. xiii, 394. Cloth \$6.25, paper \$4.75.)

THIS impressive edition of Fray Diego de Landa's famous report is a masterly exposition of Yucatecan Maya culture. The editor, who is a leading authority on Maya archaeology, ethnology, and linguistics, has brought a long experience and a wealth of learning to bear on the elucidation of Landa's book. The annotation is extraordinarily full and complete. It illustrates and interprets the text with an understanding and discernment which make the notes themselves an outstanding contribution to this field of research.

Landa's book, which was written about the year 1566 and is the earliest and best contemporary account of Maya civilization, includes nearly every phase of Maya culture. While it is especially complete in its treatment of Maya religion, it gives an illuminating account of native history in pre-Spanish times and contains practically the only reliable contemporary description of Maya hieroglyphic writing that has come down to us.

The book maintains a sympathetic attitude toward the natives. Landa does not, as he well might, attempt to justify his drastic and even cruel measures to suppress idolatry by telling of the human sacrifices which had been surreptitiously performed in Christian churches during the first two decades of Spanish rule. Landa's report was written during a sojourn in Spain, where he had come to defend his conduct in regard to the Indians. Here he was exonerated, and he returned to Yucatan as bishop.

Landa was in an excellent position to understand the Indians. He was an ac-

complished Maya linguist and had arrived in Yucatan in 1549, when the majority of the natives were not yet even nominal Christians and before Tomás López Medel had effected the political reorganization of the Indian pueblos. Two of his principal informants were Nachi Cocom, one of the most powerful of the native rulers, and Gaspar Antonio Chi, the son of a pagan priest.

The value of Landa's work is vastly enhanced by its editorial presentation. The English translation is accurate, judicious, and very readable. Many of the numerous explanatory notes are short ethnological and bibliographical essays on the subjects treated by the author. Here Landa's statements are compared with other source material, including the works of colonial Spanish and Maya writers and modern ethnological and archaeological studies of Yucatan. Wherever possible a parallel is drawn with the pre-Columbian codices and sculptures. The information contained in the notes and text is made readily available for reference by an index and a detailed syllabus covering every topic. There are also a full bibliography and a concordance with the original manuscript and the previous editions of the book. Landa's illustrations are reproduced and accompanied by a map and a portrait of the author.

The four appendixes contain translations of relevant extracts from the works of Herrera, López Medel, and Cervantes de Salazar, as well as a report by Gaspar Antonio Chi, recently discovered and now published for the first time.

Carnegie Institution of Washington

RALPH L. ROYS

CAPTAIN OF THE ANDES: THE LIFE OF DON JOSÉ DE SAN MARTÍN, LIBERATOR OF ARGENTINA, CHILE, AND PERU. By Margaret H. Harrison. (New York: Richard R. Smith. 1943. Pp. xiii, 216. \$3.00.)

Books dealing with San Martín are legion; many of them are important, and some have become historical or literary classics, but there is still need for a modern biography that combines a sympathetic approach with critical sense and strikes a balance between hyperbolic national enthusiasm and factional or personal controversialism. A new book on the great soldier of South American independence and Argentine national hero, therefore, arouses interest and presents a temptation to a reviewer to dilate on the complex and interesting problems of historiography that are involved. Such treatment would be unfair to the present volume, which is not a product of original research and whose author has not even used the *Archivo de San Martín*, one of the most important relevant documentary publications.

Works of popular biography, however, may have serious significance if they show close acquaintance with the environment (social, geographical, and intellectual) in which the subject of the study lived. It does not appear, however, that the author of *Captain of the Andes* fully meets this requirement. The serious student will find throughout the book oversimplifications and exaggerations, both in the characterization of men (Bolívar, O'Higgins, Alvear, Monteagudo, and Carrera) and in the treatment of movements and institutions (colonial society in

Buenos Aires and in Peru, Spanish liberalism, *unitarismo* in the United Provinces, the Rosas dictatorship), which add to the irritation caused by typographical errors (there are three on page xiii alone) and occasional signs of inadequate acquaintance with the Spanish language (see the mistaken interpretation of *rancho* on page 72).

More important to the general reader is the failure of the author, in spite of a readable style, to give convincing realism to the story. The book seems to be written in the style of "statuary biography" once current in this country in dealing with our own political leaders. This quality in the book perhaps derives from the nature of the sources used. Essentially, Miss Harrison has presented us with a watered-down version of the San Martín of Mitre and of Ricardo Rojas, from which the panoramic view of the one and the passionate intensity of the other have been removed. A lack of feeling for the land is also evident. Few scenes in the book could be clearly visualized by a reader unfamiliar with the regions involved. This multiplies the impression of unreality given by the one-dimensional treatment of character for all figures but the principal one in this biography. In the final chapters the personal details of the life of San Martín in retirement begin to give a touch of humanity which is absent in the greater part of the book. This reviewer does not believe that San Martín can be understood by applying the simple formula of will, discipline, and patriotism which Miss Harrison advances (with perhaps the added influence of physical health, which is given due weight). No one can read the general's letters without realizing that there were depths of both sensitivity and violence beneath the rugged and disciplined exterior; a desire for friendship and appreciation as well as abruptness and lack of tact. It cannot be denied, however, that José de San Martín is far from being an easy subject for biography and that in some ways he presents difficulties similar to those which have baffled so many biographers of Washington. This volume gives the main facts about the Argentine statesman's career in brief and agreeable form. Political interpretation is presented in the Argentine filiopietistic tradition. The book is attractive in appearance and has excellent and well-chosen illustrations.

Washington, D. C.

CHARLES C. GRIFFIN

THE SWORD WAS THEIR PASSPORT: A HISTORY OF AMERICAN FILIBUSTERING IN THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION. By *Harris Gaylord Warren*, Assistant Professor of Latin-American History, Louisiana State University. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1943. Pp. viii, 286. \$3.00.)

THIS book tells the story of the filibusters who from 1812 to 1821 fought against Spain in the Mexican War of Independence.

Except in the latter years of the period, the author says, the Federal government, influenced largely by a desire for Florida and perhaps Texas, observed the form, if not the substance, of neutrality as between Mexico and Spain, especially

because the outcome of the war was doubtful; Anglo-American sympathy with the insurgents and desire for commercial gain "enabled privateers and pirates to use . . . American ports as headquarters against Spanish commerce."

The filibuster leaders are described as having little in common save real or pretended hatred of "Spanish tyranny"; Gutiérrez de Lara, *e.g.*, as truly patriotic, hoping eventually after "creating a diversion in Texas," to continue across the Rio Grande the fight for Mexican independence; Magee, "soldier of fortune, seeking honor, glory, perhaps riches"; Robinson, patriotic Anglo-American expansionist; Mina, sincere, patriotic Spanish guerrilla, hoping to strike against King Ferdinand by helping the Mexican revolt; the Lallemands, "shell-shocked" Napoleonists, seeking military employ, hoping somehow to rescue Napoleon; Long, seeking in Texas a field for "grand real estate operation." Their followers were "a curious mixture of good and bad frontiersmen, honest lovers of liberty . . . ambitious young men . . . all in search of wealth, adventure . . . honor."

The brothers Laffite, "interesting characters of uncertain origin," admittedly "lawbreakers, outlaws, smugglers," are, he thinks, entitled to the benefit of the doubt as to the fairness of their legendary title "Pirates of the Gulf"; for they had reputable connections with Anglo-Americans and with Spanish diplomats; they furnished supplies from their Barrataria stronghold to aid Jackson in defense of New Orleans; they aided Spain after moving headquarters to Galveston Island.

"The filibusters and privateers," he concludes, "were not [all] constant in their loyalty to the cause of freedom . . . all of them, the faithful and the faithless, demonstrated the futility of filibustering. Although they exercised little influence over the course of the Mexican Revolution, they may have been a factor in the decision to permit Anglo-American colonization of Texas."

Notwithstanding a few minor shortcomings, mostly stylistic, the discerning reader of this book, even though he may not agree with all of the author's conclusions, can hardly fail to be impressed by the full and careful documentation upon which statements of fact are based, by the meticulous care with which footnotes indicate sources, by the adequate bibliography of primary and secondary source material, by the clear and helpful map, by the excellent typography, and by the attractive general mechanical style of the volume.

Texas Technological College

ELIZABETH HOWARD WEST

* * * Other Recent Publications * * *

General History

PIONEER TO THE PAST: THE STORY OF JAMES HENRY BREASTED, ARCHAEOLOGIST, TOLD BY HIS SON, CHARLES BREASTED. (New York, Charles Scribner's, 1943, pp. x, 436, \$3.50.) This biography of one of the world's great Egyptologists by a son who, though often his father's lieutenant, turned his back on Egyptology to become a newspaper man is exceptional of its kind and interesting from more than one angle. It is exceptional in its objectivity. Rarely does a son reveal so much about his father and mother both through the sources and by frank interpretive comment. The real heroes, at least those who touch the most sympathetic chord, are the doting and self-sacrificing parents, the father especially, and the worshipping Aunt Theodocia. There was nothing they would not give up to make possible the career of the brilliant, ambitious, purposeful boy. There is also an academic villain, nameless here. With rare skill the large body of sources is woven into a story that tells itself in the self-revealing letters, diaries, and memoranda of Professor Breasted himself. The reader has before him all the materials on which to make his own interpretation of the man from the Rockford boyhood, a pharmacist's license, the first chair in America in Egyptology at a salary of eight hundred dollars, to the end when as a world-renowned scientist Breasted is directing the expenditure of millions in widely scattered archaeological camps in Egypt and Asia Minor. It is a success story paralleled only by that of his astronomer friend and fellow promoter, George Ellery Hale. But the big business side of archaeology at the end diverted the scholar and teacher from achieving the immortality ensured to those who train a group to carry on when he drops by the way. Nevertheless, the son is right in saying that his father's true monument is the great series of studies issued by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, many by foreign scholars whom Breasted was able to recruit and support. His own work and its popularization in well-known texts are monumental, and of this Breasted was self-assured. All this, and much more about life and conditions in Egypt and the Fertile Crescent, is told with effortless ease. The combination of the son's recollections and the father's written account give the story of the discovery and opening of the tomb of Tutenkhamon by Carter a breathless interest. Statesmen and publicists dealing today with the peoples and areas where Breasted worked, especially after the World War, can see through his eyes the conflicts that trouble them now and will increase when this war ends. This volume is much more than a hymn to a grammarian. And it could only have happened in America.

G. S. F.

CONFLICTS: STUDIES IN CONTEMPORARY HISTORY. By *L. B. Namier*, Professor of Modern History in the University of Manchester. (New York, Macmillan, 1943, pp. viii, 222, \$2.50.) The author of *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* is also a busy essayist and book reviewer, the second of whose volumes of recently collected papers is published under the appropriate title *Conflicts*. In the first essay it is the conflict between power politics and a better adaptation and application of nationality; in the second, closely related to the first, it is, in essence, the conflict between the democratic small nations and a strengthened unified Germany. The next provides an admirable survey of the phases of the Pan-German idea, from William II to Hitler, which includes a succinct analysis of the unvarying

technique adopted toward the German minorities in Europe. Other shorter and less important essays and book reviews treat of the workings of democracy and the party system in England; in one of these the point is made that the arrangement of benches in the house of commons has had much to do with creating a two-party tradition. "There is a clear line of division between them, a gulf in space. Location creates an atmosphere. . . . The arrangement of benches reproduces the lay-out of a playing field and fosters a team spirit. No one must intervene in a game from the flank and there is no place for a Centre party." Whether or not the point seems labored, it is an example of Mr. Namier's originality. These essays are followed by three challenging papers in which the author argues his passionately Zionist point of view. As a Jew and a historian he believes that the first step toward a solution of the problem is "for us to recover our historic national consciousness. . . . Hitler will be defeated; and yet, unless the Jewish problem is faced in the light of history and with a courageous, realistic approach, it will continue to poison our lives and the minds of non-Jews." Like many extreme Zionists, he is vague and abstract in considering the other, the Arab, side of the problem and somewhat too optimistic in thinking that adequate compensation can be offered to or accepted by primitive people who know nothing of the claims of history, tradition, or religion. Here as elsewhere Mr. Namier is challenging as well as interesting. Not all those who know what they want need be called dogmatic. His style is clear and flowing. He is a scientist when he collects his material, an artist when he presents it. He needs not to search for the right word; he calls it and it comes.

JULIAN PARK

NICHOLAS COPERNICUS, 1543-1943. By *Stephen Paul Mizwa*. (New York, Kosciuszko Foundation, 1943, pp. 87, \$1.50, paper 75 cents.)

SPANISH BEGINNINGS IN THE PHILIPPINES, 1564-1572. By *Edward J. McCarthy*. [The Catholic University of America Studies in Hispanic-American History, Vol. III.] (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1943, pp. ix, 145.) This doctoral dissertation provides the first extensive description in English of the Spanish exploration and settlement of the Philippine Islands by the conquistador Miguel López de Legaspi during the years 1564-72. Legaspi was a capable administrator who explored and settled the principal islands, established Manila as the capital city, distributed honestly favors and perquisites among the Spaniards, began a lucrative Spanish-Chinese trade, and assisted the Augustinians to plant firmly the Catholic faith. It is not a thrilling story, as Father McCarthy tells it, and the monograph suffers from a lack of historical perspective. There is no comparison of the Philippine conquest with those of Mexico and of Peru; the culture and government of the native tribes are but sketchily touched upon; and the author appears to have followed closely, even slavishly at times, the many manuscripts and documents laboriously consulted. The bibliographical lacunae are curious and difficult to explain. No use seems to have been made of such basic works as Father Francisco Javier Montalbán's "El Patronato Español y la Conquista de Filipinas" (*Biblioteca Missionum*, IV, 1-140, [Burgos, 1930]); Evaristo Fernández Arias, *Paralelo entre la Conquista y Dominación de América y el Descubrimiento y Pacificación de Filipinas* (Madrid, 1893); Sánchez Alonso, *Fuentes para la Historia de España y Hispano-América*; and no reference is made to the brief study by James Alexander Robertson, "Legaspi and Philippine Colonization" (*American Historical Association Annual Report for 1907*, I, 143-56). The author has also achieved a minor miracle in producing a volume on a Spanish colonial topic without once citing the *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reinos de las Indias*.

LEWIS HANKE

THE JAPANESE IN SOUTH AMERICA: AN INTRODUCTORY SURVEY, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PERU. By *J. F. Normano* and *Antonello Gerbi*. [Issued under the auspices of the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, in co-operation with the Latin American Economic Institute.] (New York, John Day, 1943, pp. x, 135, \$1.75.)

PAGEANT OF THE POPES. By *John Farrow*. (New York, Sheed and Ward, 1942, pp. 420, \$3.50.) Aside from the pleasure which the author obviously derived from writing this book it is difficult to understand why it was written. No group of readers is well served by its publication. It makes no pretense of being a scholarly work, presents no bibliography or footnotes, no table of contents, no divisions into chapters. Centuries are indicated at the top of the pages. Every pope, traditional or authentic, from St. Peter to Pius XII is there. Honestly if uncritically written, although giving unworthy pontiffs their just dues for the most part, it displays no continued effort to relate the story of papal developments on the institutional side nor to connect them with parallel or conflicting movements. Perhaps this is fortunate, for when an occasional side glance is given, erroneous notions in the mind of the incautious or uninformed reader may be confirmed or false ones planted there, as when he reads, for example, that the pontificate of Clement VII "marked the end of the Renaissance." In the face of evidently careful proofreading one wonders why the council of Vienne is placed at Vienna. A list of the popes with their dates is appended, admitting that "there is uncertainty about the dates of some of the earlier Popes." There are fourteen attractive portraits in sanguine drawn by Jean Charlot. EUGENE H. BYRNE

THE CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY. By *Shirley Jackson Case*. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1943, pp. viii, 222, \$2.00.)

THE BALANCE OF POWER. By *Edward Vose Gulick*. [Coercion: "A Study in the Use of Force," Series II, Number 2, March, 1943.] (Philadelphia, Pacifist Research Bureau, 1943, pp. iv, 59, 25 cents.)

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Ancient History¹

T. R. S. Broughton

BABYLONIAN CHRONOLOGY, 626 B.C.-A.D. 45. By *Richard A. Parker* and *Waldo H. Dubberstein*. [The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, No. 24.] (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1942, pp. xiii, 46.) This methodical, concise, and well-presented study is a synopsis and revision of Neo-Babylonian, Achaemenid, and Seleucid chronology, plus tables for converting dates from the Babylonian to the Julian calendar. One of the most useful features of this monograph is the incorporation of data found in recently published cuneiform tablets. The authors first take up the fundamental problem of intercalation. Because twelve lunar months are about eleven days shorter than a solar year, the Babylonian astronomers eventually (perhaps around the middle of the eighth century B. C.) realized that seven lunar months had to be intercalated over a nineteen-year period. Precisely what years were to have thirteen months, and whether the intercalary month should be a second Ulul (in the early autumn) or a second Addar (in the early spring) remained in a state of flux for some centuries. The presentation of this interesting problem, of the evidence of the kings' reigns, and of the Babylonian-Julian conversion tables constitute the brochure before us.

CYRUS H. GORDON

THE GREEK HISTORIANS: THE COMPLETE AND UNABRIDGED HISTORICAL WORKS OF HERODOTUS, translated by *George Rawlinson*; THUCYDIDES, translated by *Benjamin Jowett*; XENOPHON, translated by *Henry G. Dakyns*; ARRIAN, translated by *Edward J. Chinnock*. Edited, with an Introduction, Revisions, and Additional Notes, by *Francis R. B. Godolphin*, Associate Professor of Classics and Acting Chairman of the Department of Classics, Princeton University. Two volumes. (New York, Random House, 1942, pp. xxviii, 1001; 964, \$6.00.) The title page does not disclose all that these two books offer. We have to

¹ Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

consult the table of contents of Volume II to discover that an appendix, 120 pages long, includes *The Constitution of the Athenians* by "The Old Oligarch," Xenophon's *Ways and Means* and *Constitution of the Spartans*, Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, and Arrian's *Indica*—a welcome addition. The appendix is not indexed. Standard translations have been used and there is no reasonable quarrel with the choice, though I should have preferred Godley's rendering of Herodotus to Rawlinson's. The editor has checked the translations by good editions of the Greek texts, read his proof with obvious care, and written a thoughtful introduction. An editor of a collection of translations can hardly be expected to have kept track of lexicographical determinations made since the completion of Liddell-Scott-Jones's *Lexicon*; but Kenyon's version of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* (pp. 63 ff.) could have been corrected and made intelligible, if the editor had been aware of Sterling Dow's discovery (*Hesperia*, Supplement I [1937], pp. 198 ff.; *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* [1939], pp. 1 ff.) that *kleroteria* means, not allotment rooms, but allotment machines. The type is good, the paper adequate, and the price reasonable. The work deserves a cordial welcome.

W. S. FERGUSON

YALE CLASSICAL STUDIES. Edited for the Department of Classics by *Austin M. Harmon*, Lampson Professor of Greek, and *Alfred R. Bellinger*, Lampson Professor of Latin. Volume VIII. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1942, pp. 178, \$2.00.) The volume contains six studies. The scholarship and workmanship in general are excellent. C. W. Mendell in "Lucan's Rivers" (pp. 3-22) presents an interesting account of the use of geographical excursuses not only in Lucan but also in other authors. "M. Tullius Cratippus, Priest of Rome" (pp. 23-49), by Ainsworth O'Brien-Moore, is of considerable importance chiefly for the study of the method followed by new Roman citizens in selecting names. It is suggested that the M. Tullius Cratippus of a Pergamene inscription is the son or grandson of the philosopher Cratippus, who was granted citizenship by Caesar at the request of Cicero. In that case, while retaining his Greek name as a cognomen, he took the rest of his name not from Caesar but from Cicero. An excursus on "Recipients of Roman Citizenship and Their Names" shows that this case was not unique. In "Hyspaosines of Charax" (pp. 51-67) A. R. Bellinger, on the basis of coins and literary sources, makes a brilliant and plausible reconstruction of the career of the founder of the kingdom of Charax. It is suggested that Hyspaosines was a grandson of Euthydemus of Bactria, served first as a satrap of Antiochus IV, and later assumed the kingship. Harry M. Hubbell edits "A Christian Liturgy from Egypt" (pp. 69-78). R. O. Fink contributes "Victoria Parthica and Kindred Victoriae" (pp. 79-101), a study of those *Victoriae* who "were looked upon as divine personifications of victories won over foreign enemies, and were honored with individual cults." Eugene G. O'Neill, jr., in an important article that must be left to the judgment of specialists, studies "The Localization of Metrical Word-types in the Greek Hexameter" (pp. 103-78). Of general interest is the conclusion that Hesiod differs less from the *Iliad* than the *Odyssey* does (p. 132). J. A. O. LARSEN

GENERAL ARTICLES

- THORKILD JACOBSEN. Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia. *Jour. Near Eastern Stud.*, July.
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 S. VERNON McCASLAND. "Soldiers on Service": The Draft among the Hebrews. *Jour. Bibl. Lit.*, June.
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- M. ROSTOVITZ. The Parthian Shot. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, Apr.
- R. W. REYNOLDS. Criticism of Individuals in Roman Popular Comedy. *Class. Quar.*, Apr.
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Medieval History

Gaines Post

- MEDIEVAL EUROPE. By Jeremiah O'Sullivan, Fordham University, and John F. Burns, Villanova College. (New York, F. S. Crofts, 1943, pp. xi, 770, \$4.00.) As the authors of this interesting and useful textbook have indicated in their preface, the treatment of the subject matter is chiefly topical. The result is that the chronology

"on occasion presents serious problems." For example, the chapter on Islam begins on page 571, but the end of the Lombard kingdom in Italy is discussed on page 138, while on page 183 we are informed that Charles Martel "prevented further incursion of Islam into Europe." On the other hand, the reader has the advantage of following the history of so important an institution as the Roman Catholic church without interruption from the time of Christ until the thirteenth century. Since this work is the product of Catholic scholarship in this country, every American historian will be interested to learn how the development of the Catholic hierarchy and other related historical problems have been treated. The authors have wisely refrained from injecting into the story much of their own preconceived viewpoint, although it must be said that in discussing the beginnings of the hierarchy they have sought to magnify the direct influence of Christ, at least in the opinion of Protestant observers. Strange though it may seem, a great deal of attention has been paid to German history but very little to Spain and Portugal. Frequent quotations from important primary sources enhance the value of this scholarly volume, and the many references to excellent secondary works in the footnotes also prove that this text has been prepared with great care. The center of attraction is, as it should be, the medieval church. But perhaps such subjects as philology, medicine, science, and lyrical poetry should have been mentioned in a separate division entitled "Medieval Culture." The question also arises as to why Thomas a Kempis is discussed without reference to his immortal book *The Imitation of Christ*.

ALBERT HYMA

ST. BERNWARD OF HILDESHEIM. I, HIS LIFE AND TIMES. By *Francis J. Tschan*, Professor of Medieval History, Pennsylvania State College. [Publications in Medieval Studies, the University of Notre Dame, Editor, Philip S. Moore.] (South Bend, University of Notre Dame, 1942, pp. vii, 235.) Bernward, thirteenth bishop of Hildesheim, has long been known to medievalists and students of church and art history as one of the most versatile and gifted personalities of Germany in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. The sympathetic and admiring biography written by his teacher Thangmar, who survived him, ranks among the best works of that genre written in the Middle Ages. Though there has been a varied literature on Bernward's artistic creations and on the history of the diocese of Hildesheim, there has hitherto appeared no broader historical treatment of him and very little of anything in English. For this reason Professor Tschan, instead of simply producing an annotated translation (like his excellent rendition of Helmold's *Chronicle of the Slavs*), has undertaken to write a more detailed biography, based upon Thangmar but adducing such additional material from various sources as would illustrate the typical life and activities of an Ottonian bishop, anxious to serve the church, the emperor, his diocese, and—in the case of Bernward—his art. Fourteen chapters proceed from Bernward's ancestry, instruction, and youth to his stay at the court of the strong-minded archbishop Willigis of Mainz, his services at the imperial court as tutor and friend of the precocious Otto III, his manifold responsibilities as bishop of Hildesheim, and especially his long quarrel with Willigis over the celebrated nunnery of Gandersheim, a dispute which interested contemporaries immensely. A final chapter deals with Bernward's death, sepulture, and elevation to sainthood. Thangmar, as Professor Tschan observes, was a prosaic soul. One would that he had given more attention to his bishop's art and the sources of its inspiration. This part of Bernward's life the author has reserved for a sequel volume which can be more adequately illustrated after the war. Meanwhile, while one waits for this more interesting portion, the present work is scholarly and competent and even readable. Students of medieval history can derive much instruction from it.

BERNARD J. HOLM

HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEVOTION TO THE HOLY NAME, WITH A SUPPLEMENT. By *Peter R. Biasiotto*. (St. Bonaventure, St. Bonaventure College and Seminary, 1943, pp. xii, 188.)

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VERNON HALL, JR. Decorum in Italian Renaissance Literary Criticism. *Mod. Lang. Quar.*, June.

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ARCHAEOLOGY, ARCHITECTURE, AND FINE ARTS

PHILIP WEBSTER SOUERS. The Wayland Scene on the Franks Casket. *Speculum*, Jan.

F. N. ESTEY. Charlemagne's Silver Celestial Table. *Ibid.*

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE

F. H. Herrick

RELIGION AND EMPIRE: THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN PIETY AND COMMERCE IN ENGLISH EXPANSION, 1558-1625. By *Louis B. Wright*. [Lectures delivered under the auspices of the Walker-Ames Foundation at the University of Washington, April, 1942.] (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1943, pp. ix, 190, \$2.00.) Though students of our colonial history have not been altogether ignorant of the contribution made by Anglican churchmen to the expansionist propaganda of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, Dr. Wright's little book is the first full and adequate treatment of this subject. On the basis of his quite exceptional familiarity with the contemporary propagandist literature he is convinced both of the seriousness of the religious appeal, as presented by such clerical promoters as Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas, and of the effective collaboration of such men with the colonizing and trading venturers of their time. There are excellent chapters on both these men. Hakluyt the devoted churchman, scholar, and patriot appears as "the first great—and successful—Apostle of Empire" (p. 56). Purchas is the preacher whose "curiosity about the spiritual state of the heathen" (p. 116) led him to write *Purchas His Pilgrimage* and helped to make him an efficient popularizer of expansionist activities, West and East. A less known contemporary of Purchas was the Somersetshire parson Richard Eburne, whose *Plaine Path-Way to Plantations* (1624), written with special reference to Newfoundland, Wright calls "the most detailed argument for imperialism that had yet appeared" (p. 141). The precise form of the religious appeal varied. The duty of converting the natives of the Western world to Christianity was not only urged in sermons but found its way into colonial charters. As the conflict with Catholic Spain developed, stress was laid on saving the as yet unexploited areas of the Americas for the purer religion of Protestant England. From a humanitarian standpoint this appeal was reinforced by quoting Las Casas on the inhumanity of the Spaniards toward the Indians. Another form of the humanitarian argument for colonization was its value in providing opportunities for the poorer class of Englishmen, with the bracing effect of pioneer experiences on the English character. In the case of the Levant and East Indian trading companies, the primary concern was not the conversion of native peoples but the use of religion as a means of maintaining morale, through the services of chaplains or otherwise, on shipboard and in company agencies abroad.

EVARTS B. GREENE

THE FORGOTTEN HUME: LE BON DAVID. By *Ernest Campbell Mossner*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1943, pp. xv, 251, \$3.00.) While to many people in this day and age David Hume is no more than a name, or, at best, merely a skeptical philosopher-historian, he was in actual life a very human person. For the purpose of proving this proposition, Mr. Mossner has written his book. In it he endeavors to picture Hume as *Le Bon David* by showing his relations with literary men of his day. After giving the philosopher's short autobiography, the author then presents a series of studies: first, of Hume's relations with the contemporary Scottish poets—Blacklock, Home, Wilkie, and Macpherson; then, of his controversies with Robert Wallace and Jean Jacques Rousseau; and, finally, of his dealings with Dr. Johnson and Boswell. In all of these connections Mossner lays considerable stress upon Hume's kindliness

and occasional lack of judgment owing to predilections for all things Scottish. To prove his point he has gathered together considerable little-known material dealing with Hume's life. Yet one sometimes feels that the choice of subjects has been somewhat arbitrary. This, of course, may be due to the material available, but it would have been interesting if Hume's contacts with such men as the historians Gibbon and Robertson had been discussed. In spite of this defect, however, *The Forgotten Hume* is of real value for an understanding of both the philosopher and his times. Besides emphasizing Hume's humanity, it gives much new information about the Scottish literary development in the eighteenth century. In doing this it provides a commentary on the contemporary English literature, supplies a background for Scott, Byron, and Burns, and reminds Englishmen that in the eighteenth century they had no monopoly on British literary production.

W. STANFORD REID

THE AMERICAN-BORN IN CANADA: A STATISTICAL INTERPRETATION. By R. H. Coats and M. C. Maclean, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Canada. [The Relations of Canada and the United States, James T. Shotwell, Director.] (Toronto, Ryerson Press; New Haven, Yale University Press, 1943, pp. xviii, 176, \$3.75.)

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FRANCE

A SHORT HISTORY OF FRANCE. By J. A. R. Marriott. (London, Methuen, 1942, pp. 291.) The author, well known for his numerous historical works, claims that this book is "written from an angle never hitherto selected for a 'History of France,'" namely, to show "where the development of France runs parallel with, and where, when, and why it has diverged from that of England." He has been helped by the fact that he has been both a lecturer on history and a member of parliament, so that he sees both the theoretical and the practical aspects of political questions. This is specially useful because this summary of French history from 58 B. C. to 1940 is, with one exception—the chapter on literature and art in the seventeenth century—wholly political. It is based on secondary authorities and was written under difficult circumstances, for the author was "denied access by a German bomb to his own library and memoranda." But secondary sources in French are good and numerous, while the York library was used by the "exile from London." To Americans the most interesting part is "the Duel for Empire" in North America between France and Great Britain. The larger part of the book is rightly devoted to events from the outbreak of the Revolution to 1940. The judgment on Napoleon is that he "must be counted among the greatest lawgivers of the modern world. Territorially, France owes him nothing. But socially and legally he left an impress upon modern France that has never been effaced. In Europe his monument stands in a United Germany and a United Italy." "The debt of France to Thiers, 'the little bourgeois,'" as he styled himself, is described as "incalculable," and MacMahon, though "devoted to Monarchy and Catholicism, established the Republic." Boulanger wanted to give the president the powers of an American president. Delcassé "was responsible for a remarkable

recovery in the international position of France"; his "supreme object" was to improve relations with Britain. Briand "was a born negotiator and peacemaker." The great services of the United States in sending forty-two divisions to France in 1918 are recognized. "The keynote of Laval's policy was friendship with Germany." That was in 1935; how much more so now! There are a full bibliography and a table of the rulers of France from Clovis to Lebrun.

WILLIAM MILLER

NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

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GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND HUNGARY

Ernst Posner

GERMANY IN PERIL. By *Erich Meissner*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1942, pp. 120, \$2.75.) At a time when one-track answers and sweeping condemnations of whole people in terms of popularized pathology, neuropsychiatry, and abnormal psychology are in fashion, it is refreshing to find this thoughtful little study which approaches the complex problem of Germany and the world with rare insight and substantial knowledge. The main thesis of the book is that the German problem is primarily a historical one, the result of a slow-working process of disintegration which goes back to the Reformation period and fully emerges with the rise of Prussia in the middle of the eighteenth century, finding its final expression in the Hitlerism of our day. This great crisis which is one of a power-ridden and rootless dynamism as expressed both in Prussianism and the industrial revolution is, however, not reserved to Germany alone but indicates a general peril to the modern world in its destruction of the tradition of a Christian society. Germany only stands out as a warning and an example of such far-advanced deterioration. The slim volume gives a short yet succinct outline of the historical stages of this momentous process—starting from the origin of the Prussian state under the Great Elector and Frederick William the First, to Frederick the Great of "the Prussian legend," to the "stage of hope" under the leadership of Freiherr vom Stein during the Napoleonic times, to further instability with the rising industrial revolution, to the Bismarckian Empire and the short-lived Weimar Republic, up to the final stage of the Hitler movement and its open rebellion against the European tradition with its philosophy of nihilism. While the book takes special care in showing that the present-day upheaval does not derive from a Treaty of Versailles and has penetrated into deeper strata of the European society, the author emphasizes at the same time that the traditional forces of Europe may still be strong enough to allow rejuvenation, provided that the real peril of Germany and Europe is fully recognized. The study represents a thought-provoking and most suggestive essay. Striking in its sincerity though not always convincing, it may not be acceptable to many readers in all its interpretations and certainly does not bring out in its epigrammatic form the full depth and complexity of the history of this tragic nation. Some critics may even reject the analysis in completo as a nostalgic "Christian mani-

festos." Yet as compared with the all too many superficial treatises of the day, it stands out as a valuable and serious contribution, reaching the deeper layers of the German and European crisis.

SIGMUND NEUMANN

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE HOUSE OF ULLSTEIN. By *Herman Ullstein*. (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1943, pp. 308, \$3.00.) When the House of Ullstein was swallowed by the Nazis in 1934, it was Germany's biggest publishing concern. It had grown out of a paper of purely local importance, the *Berliner Zeitung*, which Leopold Ullstein had acquired in 1878. His five sons, though later frequently at variance with each other, possessed what has been called a collective genius and succeeded in building up the well-known establishment that published the *Berliner Morgenpost*, the *B. Z. am Mittag*, and a number of widely read periodicals. They did so in competition with the equally successful publisher Scherl, using modern methods of distribution and advertising and introducing other features of English and American newspaper publishing. Most of the Ullstein products were permeated by the spirit of a non-militant middle-class liberalism, and in spite of astronomic sales figures their actual political influence was insignificant. When in 1913 the Ullstein brothers bought the highly respected *Vossische Zeitung*, with its not inglorious past of two centuries, this seemed to imply their bid for political and cultural prestige. The *Vossische Zeitung*, however, commanded but a limited clientele and was a costly venture. It had to be discontinued in 1933, while the other publications were easily *gleichgeschaltet* and then taken over by the Nazis. Herman Ullstein, the youngest of the five brothers and author of the book here reviewed, was in charge of the publicity and of the periodical and book departments of the concern and contributed greatly to its spectacular growth and commercial success. A straight and factual account of the history of the Ullstein firm from his pen would have been a welcome source of information for the historian, but unfortunately that is not what is found in this book. It contains the personal and frequently dramatized recollections of the author and a picture of Hitler's Germany that is far less revealing than that given by Shirer and other American observers.

ERNST POSNER

THE NAZI STATE. By *William Ebenstein*, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin. (New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1942, pp. xi, 355, \$2.75.) Total war does not furnish the most suitable intellectual climate for a cool appraisal of one's enemy and the institutions under which he lives and to which his life is dedicated. It is no small achievement for Professor Ebenstein to have produced a volume on *The Nazi State* that is remarkable for its penetrating analysis and calm detachment. The author's air of detachment, however, does not prevent him from giving judgment on occasions so that the reader is in no doubt with regard to the author's convictions. Eternally suspended judgment—or, more brutally, permanent intellectual paralysis—is not, the reader may rejoice, one of Professor Ebenstein's characteristics. The style is not distinguished and the occasional attempts at humor have a certain flavor of Political Science 1 (open to sophomores). Nevertheless, the book is valuable and useful and a real service to anyone who seriously attempts to understand the Nazi way of life. Professor Ebenstein is too good a historian to discuss Nazism as though it were in a vacuum. He is alive to the historical factors that have produced this system and to its roots in German experience. At all times he manages to avoid the danger of getting lost in a fog of theory, and while he gives theory its place he is careful to show how it operates in practice. Thus the reader may observe not only the theory at the base of the leader-principle but also how that principle works out in practice and affects the life of the individual German. It is easy to say that the Nazi conception of politics is one of perpetual total war aiming at the total destruction of the enemy. Professor Ebenstein shows what that means when translated

into institutional form. Government, central and local, education, Nazi economics, foreign policy—these and other important elements are taken apart and examined with admirable care. His sources, it is worth noting, are mainly German newspapers, periodicals, and official and unofficial documents. The Nazis are allowed to speak for themselves.

C. EDEN QUINTON

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RUSSIA AND POLAND

Avrahm Yarmolinsky

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Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard

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United States History

E. C. Burnett

GENERAL

THE JOURNALS OF HENRY MELCHIOR MUHLENBERG. Translated by *Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein*. Volume I. (Philadelphia, Muhlenberg Press, 1942, pp. xxiv, 728, three volumes \$10.00.) Henry Melchior Muhlenberg occupies a secure though minor niche in American history as the masterful organizer of the Lutheran church in the middle colonies and as the progenitor of an illustrious family. Thanks to the expert editorial work of Messrs. Tappert and Doberstein, he will also be known hereafter as one of the most engaging and useful of colonial diarists. This edition in English of all his extant journals will extend, when completed, to about 1,500,000 words and will be a contribution of much more than common worth to what Dr. Jameson happily described many years ago as the American Acta Sanctorum. Muhlenberg began his first journal on January 2, 1742, when he was about to set out from Germany for America, and he made his last entry in his diary on September 29, 1787, at New Providence, Pennsylvania, not many days before his death. In the intervening years he had accomplished his great purpose and in doing so had traveled widely, observed endlessly, maintained an extensive correspondence, and had not neglected the daily record of his experiences. Few men, as his editors point out, could have known the colonies better than he did, and no one probably knew the German population so well. Of primary interest to students of Muhlenberg himself and of colonial church life, the journals are a store of materials also for the historian of economics and culture. Many a local or family historian will find in them the odd fact that he desiderates, for the pages are thronged with names of persons and places. Altogether the journals provide a remarkable picture—Breughel-like both in breadth of canvas and in wealth of minute, realistic detail—of what it meant to be alive in the middle colonies in the eighteenth century. The editors have performed with exemplary skill and devotion the long editorial task of collating the extant original journals and the numerous transcripts which Muhlenberg made to send to his ecclesiastical superiors in London and Halle. The many difficulties of translation have been surmounted, so that users of the work need seldom question its accuracy. The

editorial apparatus is unobtrusive but adequate, the introduction a concise statement of editorial aims and methods. The editors also discuss Muhlenberg's motives as a diarist and the peculiarities of his language and offer some acute observations on his character.

GEORGE H. GENZMER

A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN DRAMA FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE CIVIL WAR. By *Arthur Hobson Quinn*, John Welsh Centennial Professor of History and English Literature, University of Pennsylvania. Second edition. (New York, F. S. Crofts, 1943, pp. xvi, 530, \$5.00.) Reviewed in Volume XXIX of the *American Historical Review*, page 337.

THE FIRST AIR VOYAGE IN AMERICA: THE TIMES, THE PLACE, AND THE PEOPLE OF THE BLANCHARD BALLOON VOYAGE OF JANUARY 9, 1793, PHILADELPHIA TO WOODBURY; TOGETHER WITH A FAC SIMILE RE-PRINTING OF THE "JOURNAL OF MY FORTY-FIFTH ASCENSION AND THE FIRST IN AMERICA," BY JEAN PIERRE BLANCHARD. (Philadelphia, Penn Mutual Life Insurance Company, 1943, pp. 60, 27.)

MONETARY AND BANKING THEORIES OF JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY. By *Sister M. Grace Madeleine*, Professor of Economics in Immaculata College, Immaculata, Pennsylvania. (Philadelphia, Dolphin Press, 1943, pp. xi, 186, \$2.50.) In this study the author seeks theoretical bases for the fiscal policies pursued by banks and governmental agencies concerned with banking in the early years of the United States. The period covered is somewhat larger than the title indicates. It begins with the Constitutional Convention of 1787 and extends through the panic of 1837 to about 1842. The events of those years are already familiar to students of American financial history. They include principally the rise and fall of the first and second Bank of the United States and the development of the various types of banks authorized by the several states. What this essay adds to the story is a detailed presentation and analysis of the theories, opinions, and motives of the men responsible for the events and of their critics. These ideas are assembled from the writings, the speeches, and the actions of the persons in question and compared, where appropriate, with contemporary British banking thought as expressed in the Currency versus Banking School controversy. The author's chief conclusion is not startling. She finds that chance and politics outweighed economic principles in determining the course of banking and bank regulation in the period. More important is her demonstration of the extent to which more thoughtful considerations were actually present. The author leans over backward in an effort at impartiality in discussing the respective roles of "progressives" and "conservatives" in monetary policy-making, and this results in a minor but pervasive inconsistency. The former are characterized as exponents of "progress and reform" and their views dignified by the term "political philosophy." It is made clear, however, that the "progressives" from Jackson down were usually motivated by sectional prejudice often combined with a total ignorance of affairs while the "conservatives" were the advocates of economically sound and integrated banking. Sister Madeleine has done a decent job conscientiously—but she could hardly have picked a more deadly theme!

JOHN D. FORBES

THE EDUCATION OF A GENTLEMAN: JEFFERSON DAVIS AT TRANSYLVANIA, 1821-1824. By *Margaret Norman Wagers*. [Kentucky Monographs, no. 1.] (Lexington, Kentucky, Buckley and Reading, 421 Dudley Road, 1943, pp. 38, \$2.75.)

THE FREE PRODUCE MOVEMENT: A QUAKER PROTEST AGAINST SLAVERY. By *Ruth Ketring Nuermberger*. [Historical Papers of the Trinity Col-

lege Historical Society, Series XXV.] (Durham, Duke University Press, 1942, pp. ix, 147, \$1.00.) In her study of the free produce movement Mrs. Nuernberger deals with one of the more obscure activities within the antislavery agitation, the attempt to boycott the products of slavery by offering for sale similar products which were guaranteed to be the product of free labor. From a wide variety of sources she has gathered extensive information and has presented it in clear and well-rounded form. The movement, while not confined to Quakers, was dominated by liberal members of that group. It was never of large proportions and always faced difficulties in securing raw materials, in securing the manufacture of these materials, in meeting competition both as to price and style, and in lack of sufficient capital. Between 1826 and 1856 twenty-six free produce societies were formed. During the first ten years of this period the movement was dominated by the Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania. Between 1838 and 1844 the work was carried on by the American Free Produce Association, with which many leading abolitionists for a time associated themselves. In its last stage the effort was left to the Quakers, who between 1845 and 1856 organized eleven free produce associations. One whole chapter is devoted to the work of George W. Taylor, who conducted the free produce store in Philadelphia for twenty years after 1847. The work is supplemented by useful appendixes listing chronologically the free produce societies and stores. It has an extensive bibliography and a full index. One title may be added to Mrs. Nuernberger's bibliography. Captain Charles Stuart, friend of Theodore Dwight Weld, wrote an article on the use of slave products which was printed in the *Quarterly Anti-slavery Magazine* of January, 1837.

FRED LONDON

THE PANIC OF 1857: AN ANALYTICAL STUDY. By *George W. Van Vleck*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1943, pp. ix, 126, \$1.50.) Mr. Van Vleck's interesting and well-written study on the Panic of 1857 constitutes by all odds the broadest treatment yet written on the subject. Indeed it is so all-embracing as to work against adequate or convincing development of the points mentioned. Included are such varied domestic and world factors as the economic transformation of the United States from a farming to an industrial nation, with the concomitant transformation of its agriculture from a self-sustaining household production to a strictly commercial occupation; the money market for this new commerce and its seasonal stresses and strains; the banking system; professional speculation; British credits; the land boom of the 1850's; California gold in relation to world prices; public works in France; the "June Days" of the Second Empire; French corruption, notably the *Société Générale de Crédit Mobilier* and its successor the *Crédit Foncier*; the Crimean War; the British Corn Laws; Russian harvests; Australian gold; the India Mutiny; the Chinese and Persian Wars of 1856-57; Chinese trade; investments in the Near East, South America, and the Balkans, etc. A multitude of factors are given, yet, global as is this survey, the enterprising scholar of the future will always be able to discover yet another. So fickle is Clio. The author is not content with cataloguing; his study is analytic as well as descriptive. He evaluates in a somewhat dogmatic manner. To him (p. 53) "The factor most important in determining the causes of the crisis of 1857 is the source of the specie exported to the Near East and India and China from the spring of 1854 to the summer of 1857. . . . Specie sent to India and China—was totally lost to the European economy." The reviewer would mark this statement as "Not Proven." Nor, as a major thesis, is it given adequate support. In the chapter on "Recovery" this phase of the matter is passed over entirely. The study does demonstrate thoroughly one of the author's main theses, to wit: "the causes of the panic of 1857 were not localized in the United States." This point, however, has previously

been rather adequately defended. Added evidence should always be welcomed and Mr. Van Vleck has given a goodly amount. E. F. HUMPHREY

WITH SHERMAN TO THE SEA: THE CIVIL WAR LETTERS, DIARIES, & REMINISCENCES OF THEODORE F. UPSON. Edited with an Introduction by *Oscar Osburn Winther*, Department of History, Indiana University. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1943, pp. xxii, 181, \$2.25.) This handsome little volume contains a down-to-earth account of the Civil War experiences of an Indiana farm boy turned soldier. Included is something of his reaction to the slavery controversy and the war prior to his enlistment in the Union Army. In spite of the promise of the title the Georgia campaign of 1864 receives no special emphasis. Upson was only seventeen in 1862 when he was mustered into service with the 100th Indiana Infantry, but he was a thoughtful observer and a good judge of human nature. His military career was no picnic. His regiment, like most, began active duty virtually untrained, undisciplined, and badly armed. Amateur officers learned their craft on the march and in combat. Heat, cold and rain, short rations, insect pests, exhausting marches, irksome duties, wounds, disease, the death of comrades on the battlefield, in hospital, or in camp, and the devastation wrought by war all have a place in Upson's account. The whole is illumined with flashes of native humor and dignified by the young soldier's conviction of the rightness of his cause. When Upson, long after the war, prepared the manuscript here published, he incorporated in it material from his diaries and his Civil War letters, often without indicating clearly where the original records ended and the reminiscences began. Mr. Winther, who thinks that the reminiscences were well bolstered by the letters and diaries, has supplied paragraphing, some punctuation, chapter and paragraph captions, a brief introduction, cross references, and other notes. Editor and publisher should be commended for bringing out this look at the Civil War through the clear eyes of an intelligent young soldier in the ranks. FRANK H. HECK

SELECTED WRITINGS AND SPEECHES OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN. Edited by *T. Harry Williams*. [University Classics.] (Chicago, Packard and Company, 1943, pp. 269, 95 cents.)

DEFENCE AND PRISON EXPERIENCES OF A LINCOLN CONSPIRATOR: STATEMENTS AND AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NOTES. By *Samuel Bland Arnold*. [Heartman's Historical Series, Number 66.] (Hattiesburg, the Book Farm, 1943, pp. 133, \$12.00.) Though its meager editing does not reveal it, the Arnold story here presented has been known to historians. It appeared in the *Baltimore American*, December 7-20, 1902, and simultaneously in the *New York Sun*; among writers on the assassination it was used by DeWitt, Eisenschiml, and Bryan. Arnold was a Maryland youth of Confederate sympathies who met Booth about ten years before the war, served briefly in the Confederate army, "left" it, and in 1864 joined Booth's unsuccessful plot to abduct (not to kill) Lincoln. By kidnaping the President and getting him into Confederate hands, as he said, he hoped to use pressure for the release of Southern prisoners. Cutting through the intricate detail of his elaborate story, we find that, though he had broken with Booth and had never joined the conspiracy to assassinate, he became the tortured victim of Stanton's police, was sentenced by the military commission to life imprisonment, and spent over three and a half years in miserable and beastly confinement at Dry Tortugas; in March of 1869 he was released by Johnson's full and unconditional pardon. One does not need to condone Arnold's rash act, or rather plot, to be overcome with loathing at his overpunishment, brutal persecution, and denial of a fair trial. It is a poignant story, no less so because

of the bitter emotion and illiteracy of its telling. A close comparison reveals that for newspaper publication in 1902 the Arnold account was unchanged in substance but was freely edited for paragraph arrangement, grammar, spelling, and the elimination of repetitive passages. In the present volume it is offered in its ignorant and blundering original. This is all to the good, though it makes for hard reading. Otherwise, however, in such matters as introduction, explanation, cross reference, annotation for the correction of error, and indication of where one document ends and another begins, the present editing is not only defective; it is virtually non-existent. The high price is attributed to the cost of the manuscript.

J. G. RANDALL

SOIL EXHAUSTION AND THE CIVIL WAR. By *William Chandler Bagley, jr.* (Washington, American Council on Public Affairs, 1942, pp. xi, 101, cloth \$2.00, paper \$1.50.) This slight volume, published by the American Council on Public Affairs as part of its program of "encouraging properly qualified scholars to give greater attention to the background, analysis, and solution of contemporary problems," is really an ambitious historical study, albeit one of a kind that is going out of favor. It accepts the principle of one-factor causation and attempts to prove an ever larger thesis that is suggested by the title. In addition to his contention that soil exhaustion forced the South into secession and to civil war, the author attempts to prove that slavery *per se* was the cause of soil exhaustion in the ante-bellum South. The reasoning was somewhat as follows: Slavery functions well only under a single-crop regime, which in turn prevents the use of soil conservation practices. While the author argues that the involuntary and reluctant labor resulting from the nature of slavery was responsible for careless tillage, he further bolsters his case by adding that the characteristics of the slaves themselves prevented the adoption of soil conservation methods. The consequent soil exhaustion made the territorial expansion of slavery necessary to its survival, and the South therefore was forced to resist Northern policy and seek a way out. Like the famous "ifs" of history such wide-ranging hypotheses cannot be ruled out of account. On the other hand, they should not be regarded as susceptible of scientific proof by any other of the methods available to historians. Most soil scientists would feel that the upland South would have suffered soil erosion, if not exhaustion, if it had never seen slavery, just as contemporary students can testify that soil wastage has continued long after slavery was abolished. Such overall theories of history represent acts of faith and can best be supported by theological reasoning.

RUPERT B. VANCE

THE FIRST CENTURY OF FLIGHT IN AMERICA: AN INTRODUCTORY SURVEY. By *Jeremiah Milbank, jr.* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1943, pp. x, 248, \$2.75.) The modern age of aeronautics starts with the Wright brothers at Kitty Hawk in 1903, but the little-explored era of "aerostation," as ballooning was called, had established a tradition of flying in this country a century before. Mr. Milbank begins his story with the first balloon ascension, made by thirteen-year-old Edward Warren in 1784. A year later Dr. John Jeffries ballooned across the English Channel, and for the next fifty years American aeronauts performed extraordinary feats. There was Richard Clayton, who carried the first mail; John Wise, who set an international distance record, and T. S. C. Lowe, who introduced the balloon to the Union Army in 1861. There were also the inventors who foresaw controlled flight. Some experimented with the powered balloon or dirigible. Others contrived heavier-than-air devices, such as the wing-flapping "ornithopter" or the vertically propelled "helicopter." By the end of this period there was even a respectable literature of aeronautics, such as the periodical *Aeronautics*, offshoot of the *American and Rail-*

road Journal and James Means's *Aeronautical Annuals*. This ably documented study opens the door a crack upon a vast storehouse of unused material, but, as Mr. Milbank admits, it only gives us a glimpse. One wonders, for example, what happened to Richard Clayton to end his promising career. And, since events up to 1896 are recorded, what of the contributions of such noted experimentors as Alexander Graham Bell, Hiram Maxim, and Professor S. P. Langley?

HENRY L. SMITH

THE QUESTION OF EXPATRIATION IN AMERICA PRIOR TO 1907. By I-Mien Tsiang. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LX, Number 3.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1942, pp. 128, xiv, cloth \$2.25, paper \$1.50.) To the literature of American expatriation, heretofore limited to but few articles dealing exclusively with the subject, this volume comes as a welcome addition; in fact, within the limits set by the author, it is the first more or less extensive work on American expatriation. Executed with care and fine judgment, Mr. Tsiang begins with a consideration of Coke's maxim that "No man may abjure his native country nor the allegiance which he owes to his sovereign," and traces the early development of the doctrine in England and, later, in America. The repudiation of the English idea of perpetual allegiance, first set forth in the Declaration of Independence, provoked many controversies, notably in connection with the impressment of American seamen, until in 1870 parliament formally renounced so narrow a policy. Within the various jurisdictions of the United States there was no clear-cut policy of expatriation, and even the Supreme Court of the United States was "inclined to disfavor the right of voluntary expatriation." These controversies, both international and domestic, and the solutions reached by treaty, judicial decision, and congressional action, particularly the acts of 1868 and 1907, comprise the bulk of the book. Well written, unambiguous, and thoroughly documented, this work is a genuine contribution in the best tradition of scholarship and provides an excellent background for a study of the section on nationality in Hackworth's *Digest of International Law*, Vol. III (Washington, 1942).

GORDON POST

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN TRADE AGREEMENT: A STUDY OF BRITISH AND AMERICAN COMMERCIAL POLICIES, 1934-1939. By Carl Kreider. [International Finance Section, Princeton University, VIII.] (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1943, pp. xv, 270, \$3.50.) This volume renders an important service. It is the only comprehensive analysis of any recent American trade agreement which has been made by a person outside the government. Its objectiveness is not greatly impaired by the writer's strong free-trade leaning. His is no mere formal description of the contents of the agreement; it is a broad interpretation of its political and economic significance—of its relationship to the general policies and the general economic setup of the two countries. The general conclusion of the author is that the agreement possessed much less importance than had been attributed to it by the United States authorities concerned in its negotiation. However, he considers it a significant step toward the freer trade which he favors. His last paragraph reads in part: "Neither Britain nor the United States made important changes in their policies of protection. . . . It is true, however, that the agreement effected the first modification of the Ottawa preferences and the first substantial reductions in the other British tariffs. The United States also took an additional step away from the unconscionable Hawley-Smoot Tariff of 1930. Both parties to the agreement reaffirmed their intention of maintaining the principle of equality of treatment as a basis for international trading relations. . . . The agreement was a salutary development, for, however halting the pace, the United Kingdom and the United States were traveling in the right direction along a road obstructed

with many political barricades." A few technical defects in this work have been noted. In one of the tables a column headed "United Kingdom merchandise exports to the United States" actually consists of the figures for imports from the United Kingdom into this country. This form of expression should never be used; a more thoroughgoing analysis would have compared the American statistics of trade in both directions with the British statistics. In his Table 7 the author fails to make the important distinction between bindings of statutory rates of duty and bindings of rates previously reduced by trade agreements. Most of the duty bindings by the United States were of this second class; whiskey alone, on which the rate had been reduced in the 1936 agreement with Canada, accounted for \$34,000,000 out of the \$38,500,000 worth of imports (in 1937) of all articles on which American duties were bound. The author gives the impression that a binding of this sort has relatively little significance. Although in another connection he notes the importance of the fact that a new agreement with Canada was being negotiated at the same time as the British agreement, he does not raise the question whether the United States would have continued the concession on whiskey to Canada if there had been no concurrent agreement with the United Kingdom, since that country was much the larger supplier. Presumably both countries "paid" well for the whiskey concession.

E. DANA DURAND

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RESEARCH PROJECTS REPORTS: CHECK LIST OF HISTORICAL RECORDS SURVEY PUBLICATIONS. Prepared by *Sargent B. Child* and *Dorothy P. Holmes*; assistance in checking and arranging by *Cyril E. Paquin*. [WPA Technical Series, Research and Records Bibliography No. 7.] Revised April, 1943. (Washington, Federal Works Agency, Works Projects Administration, Division of Service Projects, 1943, pp. 110.) This is a final listing of *Historical Records Survey* publications issued between 1936 and 1943. Every attempt has been made to list all the survey program publications issued in each state. It is anticipated, however, that in compiling this final listing of approximately 1,800 entries there is a small percentage of omissions. A large amount of material gathered by the survey was in varying stages of completion when the program was discontinued, a volume estimated to be eight or ten times greater than the volume of material represented by the publications listed in this final check list. Copies of all available state lists of unpublished materials are located in the Library of Congress, the National Archives, and the Federal Works Agency Library, Washington, D. C.; in each state depository; and frequently are on deposit with state sponsors of the various state projects.

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

- PENNSYLVANIA'S FIRST YEAR AT WAR, DECEMBER 7, 1941–DECEMBER 7, 1942. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1943, pp. ix, 100.)
- THE HARMONISTS: A PERSONAL HISTORY. By John S. Duss. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Book Service Publishers, 1943, pp. xviii, 425, \$3.50.) Books, purely historical, differ greatly not only in value but also in type. Some of them are purely factual, others descriptive, and yet others interpretative. More particularly there are books of documents, books of scholarly research on documents, and books of reminiscences. Sometimes, as in the case of this book, the types are mixed. In part it is a history of *The Harmonists*, but in part it is the autobiography of John S. Duss, the last important figure of the famous Rappists of the nineteenth century. The combination of the two parts into one synthetic whole, a matter of difficulty, has been very successfully done. The reader will find here a picture of the German political, economic, social, and religious background; the story of migration to Butler County, Pennsylvania; the interlude at New Harmony, Indiana, and the tortuous history of "Economy," Pennsylvania, from 1825 to 1941. Combined with the history of Economy since 1860 is the reminiscent autobiography of the author. The total impression upon the reader is historically satisfactory. Interest is maintained and appetite for further data stimulated. Whether fortunately or unfortunately, the volume is without adequate documentation. Archival materials, easily available, are greatly neglected. Footnotes are not

found. No bibliography is included. Only two documents are furnished in appendixes. From the point of view of scholarly treatment this book is therefore not the full and final history of the Harmonists. Nevertheless it is an intriguing volume, fascinating in its revelation of unique aspects of human society. The book is well bound, printed on reasonably good paper, and with good letter type. It contains more than two dozen valuable illustrations. Its typographical errors are very few. Both in interest and in historical value the volume is worth its price. Probably it is a special merit of the book that it presents a convincing account of the tangled finances of the last days of the community.

ALFRED P. JAMES

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

THE CULTURE OF EARLY CHARLESTON. By Frederick P. Bowes. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1942, pp. ix, 156, \$2.50.) This slender volume, a Princeton thesis, packs a good deal of well-sorted information into its seven chapters. Materials are drawn from appropriate sources—chiefly newspapers, wills, inventories, and S.P.G. transcripts—and organized around such topics as schools, churches, libraries, the theater, the press and the book trade, science, literature, and art. The author describes (rather than evaluates) the culture of one eighteenth century provincial class whose role in the Revolutionary era is briefly assessed in his final chapter on "The Charleston Aristocracy." An appendix lists some 120 schoolmasters and mistresses who advertised in the newspapers from 1733 to 1775. These glimpses of the "golden day of Carolina culture" whet the appetite for more. More, certainly,

might have been attempted in the way of appraisal, and one could wish for a more mature projection of Charleston culture against contemporary backgrounds in America and England. A list of artists tells little of their achievements or of the provincial state of aesthetic appreciation. It is not enough to name Adair with Lawson and Hewat as a Carolina historian. His robust, eccentric, contentious writing deserves real analysis. The distinctive features which Charleston architecture developed are sketchily portrayed. Newspaper practices common to American and British papers are described as if unique. Even the excellent account of the scientific activities of Dr. Lining could have been improved had the author made use of Dr. I. Bernard Cohen's recent edition of the greatest American book of science of that age. In the making of that book the Franklin-Lining correspondence had a part which is here overlooked. Wider reading in the American literature of the century would have saved the author from attributing a certain newspaper essay to Thomas Whitmarsh (p. 67). The quotations reveal that Whitmarsh was reprinting from the Pennsylvania *Gazette* the classic "Apology for Printers" of his Philadelphia patron and partner. V. W. CRANE

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF WILLIAM LOWNDES YANCEY: A HISTORY OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES FROM 1834 to 1864, ESPECIALLY AS TO THE ORIGIN OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES. By *John Witherspoon DuBose*. Two volumes. (New York, Peter Smith, 1942, pp. xiii, 406; 407-752, \$10.00.) These volumes were published in 1892, before the *Review* was founded, and need no review now. Indeed, the fact that they have long been out of print and unavailable speaks for their acceptance as a standard work in Southern biography and history. Here is the comment in Larned's *Literature of American History*: "Under this 'leader of the southern movement,' the author considers Alabama politics from 1840 to 1854 and national politics thereafter to 1863. A most interesting presentation of the southern or states rights side of the great controversy. Treats of nullification, abolition, the compromises, secession, and the southern Confederacy. The descriptions of the acts of secession and the inner history of the Confederacy are the most novel parts." It is to be hoped that the reproductions of out of print books by Peter Smith will be successful enough to encourage further volumes at prices insuring their availability to libraries and individuals with reduced budgets. It is an enterprise to be commended.

CULTURAL LIFE IN NASHVILLE ON THE EVE OF THE CIVIL WAR. By *F. Garvin Davenport*, Professor of History, Transylvania College. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1941, pp. x, 232, \$3.50.) By definition of the word "culture" the author of this valuable contribution to the social history of Nashville restricts himself to a description of those aspects of the life of the people of that city of some ten thousand inhabitants that constituted "intellectual and aesthetic attainment." Except for an introductory description of the foundations for later cultural development laid during the second quarter of the century chiefly by Philip Lindsley and Gerard Troost, his study is confined to the decade preceding the Civil War. During this decade, as a result of the establishment of the medical department of the University of Nashville and the leadership of such members of its faculty as John Berrien Lindsley, Paul F. Eve, and William K. Bowling, Nashville attained a position of eminence in medical education and in the development of medical science that is still one of the city's most distinguishing characteristics. In other fields of education, with its public school system, its Female Academy, and its other educational institutions, Nashville likewise attained a position of leadership not only in Tennessee but in the South. The decade was characterized also by religious leadership that gave

evidence of intellectual distinction as well as of bigotry and bitter denominational partisanship. Nashville's culture began to exhibit something of a cosmopolitan character. Its theater, when it billed such mid-century stars as Charlotte Cushman, Eliza Logan, John and Louisa Drew, and Edwin Booth, was well supported. Appreciation of music was developed to the point where performances by such organizations as Parodi's Italian Opera Company were well patronized despite the fact that "the ever popular minstrels were performing at the same time in Odd Fellows Hall." Jenny Lind was one of several concert artists who gave performances before Nashville's appreciative audiences. It is with such activities that this volume deals, and with amateur tableaux, a Schiller Music Festival, and dances, with libraries and book-stores, with Nashville's literary press, and briefly with architecture. Occasionally there are brief glimpses of a Nashville concerned not with "intellectual and aesthetic attainment" but with drunken brawls in the Irish quarter, medicine shows in the streets, and nightly visitations to "The Jungle" on the river front. The author has written with a dignity and restraint and maturity of judgment in the field of local history that is particularly to be noted and commended. Other studies of urban life in the South are needed.

PHILIP M. HAMER

THE LIFE OF JONATHAN M. BENNETT: A STUDY OF THE VIRGINIAS IN TRANSITION. By *Harvey Mitchell Rice*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1943, pp. xiii, 300, \$3.50.) Jonathan M. Bennett appears in this biography as a man of ability, integrity, and sound judgment who was actively interested in the construction of turnpikes and railroads and in the sponsorship of other useful agencies in the development of West Virginia. His interest in public affairs drew him into politics, and both before and after the Civil War he took a leading part in the counsels of the Democratic party. For a number of years he was a useful member of the West Virginia legislature, but his most outstanding public service was that as state auditor for Virginia. He efficiently performed the duties of this place during the entire period of the war, despite the fact that his section of the old state had seceded from Virginia. Since the subject of this study had no outstanding achievements to his credit and his life spanned the tragic era of secession, war, and reconstruction, the significance of this narrative lies mainly in the importance of the events of the period in which he lived. His career has been properly used by the author as a thread on which to string these important events. Bennett was not a colorful character and did not take a leading part in any dramatic roles. It was therefore no easy task to weave an interesting story around his career. That Dr. Rice has done this is one of the chief merits of his work. The book is unusually free from mistakes. However, one might be noted—Jefferson was not governor of Virginia in 1782, since his term had expired in June, 1781. The style is clear and straightforward and the general tone of the work is objective. There is little or no sign of hero worship, no effort at moralizing, and very little attempt at appraisal of motives. In short, Dr. Rice has produced a scholarly, well-written work and in so doing has made a worthy contribution to the history of the Virginias.

O. P. CHITWOOD

THE HISTORY OF MARY BALDWIN COLLEGE, 1842-1942—AUGUSTA FEMALE SEMINARY, MARY BALDWIN SEMINARY, MARY BALDWIN COLLEGE. By *Mary Watters*, Research Professor in History, Mary Baldwin College. (Staunton, Mary Baldwin College, 1942, pp. 629.) It is not often that the history of an educational institution is made a real contribution to both the history of education and to social history alike. This volume on the evolution of the female seminary, opened in 1842 in Staunton, Virginia, into Mary Baldwin College does just that and does it admirably.

It is a convincing example of what a trained historian can do with material that has meaning only when the writer knows more than is told in catalogues and reminiscences. Here and in similar female seminaries the young ladies of the South were trained in the social conventions and some subjects proper for them to know. "Besides the curriculum," said an admiring Staunton citizen, "modesty, refinement, gentleness and the beauty of simplicity, together with ethics, the amenities and proprieties are taught, cultivated and practiced. The young ladies are taught to abhor masculinity." But not masculines. As late as 1924 the Board of Trustees wrestled with the major problem of how to march the girls to more than the one Presbyterian church on the campus, the other being three blocks away. The crisis was met "with tact and firmness." It could not be done. Mary Baldwin, the principal for decades, was a remarkable woman no doubt. Civil war, reconstruction, time and change made little impress on her ideas of a proper education for young women, even when she yielded ground to modernity reluctantly. But the girls survived the prim uniforms, the endless round of compulsory Sunday school and church, and the dangers from young Southern gallants. Tommy Wilson in the manse was too young to count. And it was these young ladies who years later bought and made a shrine of his birthplace. And they made names for themselves too. But this volume indulges in no ballyhoo about alumnae. It ends with the seminary grown into a modern woman's college. The whole volume is a significant contribution to social history. Of its kind we need more. And a comparative study of Mary Baldwin, Mary Lyon, and Emma Willard might throw new light on sectionalism.

G. S. F.

GUIDE TO LIFE AND LITERATURE OF THE SOUTHWEST, WITH A FEW OBSERVATIONS. By *James Frank Dobie*. (Dallas, University Press in Dallas, Southern Methodist University, 1943, pp. 111, \$1.00.)

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY: A STUDY IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION. By C. Herman Pritchett, Assistant Professor of Political Science, the University of Chicago. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, 1943, pp. xiii, 333, \$3.50.)

CINCINNATI: A GUIDE TO THE QUEEN CITY AND ITS NEIGHBORS. Compiled by workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the state of Ohio. [American Guide Series.] (Cincinnati, Wiesen-Hart Press, 1943, pp. 593, \$3.50.)

THOMAS JEFFERSON, 1743-1943: A GUIDE TO THE RARE BOOKS, MAPS, AND MANUSCRIPTS EXHIBITED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN. (Ann Arbor, William L. Clements Library, 1943, pp. 32.)

THE TERRITORIAL PAPERS OF THE UNITED STATES. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. Volume X, THE TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN, 1805-1820. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1942, pp. xi, 948, \$2.50.) Volume X of *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, the first of three devoted to Michigan territory, gives further evidence of the excellence of the editorial judgment, prudence, and skill of Dr. Carter. The materials of the first five sections, relating to the period prior to the first Cass administration, which began in 1813, indicate an account of a lethargic policy pursued by the national government toward Michigan territory, which, in practice, gave the latter a status comparable to that of a British crown colony rather than one of preparation for statehood. A lack of appreciation of the specific nature of the Indian problem, an awareness of an uncertain boundary with Ohio, a program of rigid economy, an indifference to the problems of the French population, and an emphasis upon routine efficiency characterized the bulk of the correspondence from Washington. Adequate defense, uncanny intelligence concerning Indian events, an efficient postal service, the selection of able assistants, and information about British activities and interests were frequently expected from an inexperienced and often ill-chosen personnel serving, with patronage a frequent basis of appointment, in an area admittedly significant in frontier protection. Champions of Hull will find some confirmation for the thesis that the first governor had an appreciation of basic civil and military problems, but failed both to demand and secure the proper degree of co-operation in the face of hostile factions encouraged by Woodward,

Griswold, and other malcontents. Lewis Cass, whose administration followed the unfortunate interval of British occupation, is portrayed almost immediately as the type of official who deserved the respect bestowed upon him later. His policies stressed a program of defense for the entire Northwest area under his jurisdiction, and included a firmer and more consistent attitude toward the Indians (partially as a means of combating English intrigue which he constantly suspected) and the attraction of a large number of settlers whom he rightly assumed would be drawn from New England. The praise expressed by Cass for Woodbridge indicates a contemporary recognition often since ignored.

SIDNEY GLAZER

THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI WEST: A GUIDE TO ITS PERIODICAL LITERATURE (1811-1938). By *Oscar Osburn Winther*, Department of History, Indiana University. [Indiana University Publications, Social Science Series.] (Bloomington, Indiana University, 1942, pp. xv, 263.) This volume consists of slightly more than 3,500 references taken from sixty periodicals. All of these journals are either of a professional or semi-professional nature and may be national, regional, or local in scope. The titles are placed under sixty-seven topical headings, which are arranged alphabetically, beginning with Alaska and concluding with Wyoming. The headings include not only the names of states and regions but also of important topics related to the Trans-Mississippi West, such as cattle, fur trade, Mormons, transportation and communication, and various others. There is no repetition of titles but cross references are used when materials overlap. Little attention is given to Canadian or Latin-American history and no references are given to popular magazines, trade or occupational journals, or to those fugitive periodicals which flourished for a time and then ceased publication. Many of these contain valuable articles on the history of the region under consideration, and the compiler quite properly suggests that a second volume dealing with this type of periodical literature should be published. While obviously incomplete, as any such guide must be, this book is well organized and shows every evidence of careful, painstaking labor and sound craftsmanship. It will prove of great value to any student interested in this field of American history. EDWARD EVERETT DALE

IOWA—IN TIMES OF WAR. By *Jacob A. Swisher*. [Iowa Centennial History.] (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1943, pp. 395, \$3.00.) Mr. Swisher's purpose in preparing this volume was "to present the military aspects of Iowa history from the civilian viewpoint." This he has done, though in superficial fashion, but he has not fulfilled the promise of his title. Two inadequate chapters contain virtually all that is said concerning wartime conditions on the home front. On the other hand, the volume is not confined to "times of war"; an initial chapter entitled "Forts in War and Peace" is followed by others in which the peacetime history of the state militia and the Iowa National Guard is summarized. The topical organization used has lent itself to much repetition. Two chapters cover the call to arms in 1846, 1861-65, 1898, and 1917-18. Others deal with the uniforms and equipment which Iowa soldiers used, the weapons they fired, and the camps in which they were trained. Iowa organizations and individuals in the infantry, cavalry, artillery, Navy, and air corps are given a meager chapter apiece. The ground thus scratched is partially reworked in chapters entitled "Armies in the Field" and "Remember Our Heroes." The careers of sundry Iowa governors, senators, and representatives in Congress who at some time served in the Army are hastily sketched. Perhaps the best portion of the work consists of generous extracts from the reminiscences of two Iowa veterans, reprinted here to show how men feel in battle. The book is innocent of footnotes, though it abounds in quotations whose identification is generally left to the reader. One wonders, how-

ever, by whom Mr. Swisher and his editor intended the volume to be read. It contains nothing to interest the scholar, and its style will not recommend it to many "general readers."

FRANK H. HECK

THE PERSISTENCE OF THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT AND OTHER ESSAYS.

By *John Carl Parish*. With an Introduction by Dan Elbert Clark. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1943, pp. xxii, 187, \$2.00.) This gathering of essays written by the late Professor Parish deserves the respectful attention of all students of the West, broadly interpreted, and of those interested in the history of the Westward advance. Of the nine pieces composing the collection, two have not previously seen the light. Professor Dan E. Clark contributes a sympathetic biographical introduction, "John Carl Parish, Historian," of value for its rendering of the personality of the author of these papers. The theme of the opening essay, first published in 1926, is that the Westward movement did not end in 1890 but continued, and may be expected to continue, long after the pronouncement of the superintendent of the census. What came to an end in 1890, declares Professor Parish, was but the first seizure of the land by the first thin film of settlers. Thereafter, other and different frontiers advanced into the West. It is a strikingly provocative piece of historical writing and will repay many a rereading. Written in 1930, "Reflections on the Nature of the Westward Movement" is a thoughtful essay which performs a highly useful service in clarification and definition, isolating particular terms associated with the doctrine of Turner and defining these as general propositions. The total effect is to provide a philosophical supplement to Turner's essay of 1893. In "The Emergence of the Idea of Manifest Destiny" Parish offers a stimulating piece dealing with the history of an American idea. He traces this popular slogan of the mid-nineteenth century backward almost one hundred years. Between 1755 (when he finds early expressions of it) and 1803 this idea, as he shows, has a continuous career, now partially masked, now publicly expressed. Its principal carriers were John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Jedidiah Morse, and Thomas Jefferson. A group of three essays treats of personalities concerned with Westward extension at different times in the eighteenth century. Longest of the three is "The Intrigues of Dr. James O'Fallon," which recounts the career of an ambitious but luckless promoter of schemes to colonize wild lands in eastern Florida and on the lower Mississippi. This contribution casts additional light on the role of General Wilkinson during the first years of the republic. The essay on Edmund Atkin, first superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern Department, recovers for us part of a lost chapter in British Indian policy from 1754 to 1761. To his successor in this post the third essay is devoted, "John Stuart and the Cartography of the Indian Boundary Line." This essay, over and above its content of fact and conclusion, is of value for its contribution to the technique of map study and map use in historical investigation. In it Dr. Parish shows how mooted historical questions can be resolved by going behind the printed form of a map to scrutinize the manuscript state of the same map, thus finding answers to the problem in hand.

FULMER MOOD

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE CALIFORNIA INDIAN AND WHITE CIVILIZATION. By *S. F. Cook*. Volumes I and II. [Ibero-Americana: 21 and 22.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1943, pp. 194, 55, \$2.00 and \$2.50.)

READINGS IN PACIFIC NORTHWEST HISTORY: WASHINGTON, 1790-1895.

Edited by *Charles Marvin Gates*. (Seattle, University Bookstore, 1941, pp. 345, \$2.50.) This admirably chosen and skillfully edited collection of *Readings* on the history of the Pacific Northwest and of Washington in particular merits high praise. From the masses of available materials the editor has chosen some sixty selections and has

arranged them topically under seventeen chapter headings. The selections are mostly from primary sources and they are accompanied by explanatory paragraphs to indicate the setting and to refer the reader to recent research. About one third of the volume is devoted to the period prior to the creation of Washington Territory in 1853. Early explorers by sea and land, fur traders, missionaries, observers of Indian life, government officials intent on the study of Indian problems—all make their colorful contributions. Three chapters present the attainment of territorial status separate from Oregon, examples of early legislation, and means of defense. Documents pertaining to travel by overland trail, by steamer, and by rail give the reader entertaining glimpses of the evolution of frontier transportation. The rapidly expanding economy of the new region is depicted under the heads of lumbering, fishing, mining, agriculture, manufacturing, and commerce. The reactions of tourists, immigrants, and sportsmen are not omitted, and the concluding chapter of this highly interesting volume throws light on the attainment of statehood in 1889.

CLARENCE W. RIFE

SAN JUAN ARCHIPELAGO: STUDY OF THE JOINT OCCUPATION OF SAN JUAN ISLAND. By *Hunter Miller*. (Washington, the author, 1943, pp. 203.) Joint occupation on San Juan Island repeated in part the pattern which had marked the gradual definition of national claims and interests in the Oregon country as a whole. Dr. Miller suggests the parallel in his subtitle, and while he does not emphasize it, the resemblance is plain in the notes and documents he presents. In the archipelago, however, joint occupation presented particular problems. The establishment of agencies of civil government by Great Britain on Vancouver Island and by the United States in Washington Territory made the adjustment of conflicting jurisdictions difficult to control, and the simplest functions of administration were complicated by the patriotic zeal of local officers. Furthermore, the presence of opposing military and naval forces in the vicinity gave the situation an explosiveness that bore no relation to the importance of the issues involved. The story of the crisis in 1859 receives in Dr. Miller's work a definitive documentation. Particularly to be noted are the excerpts from records in the British Foreign Office and the archives of British Columbia which reveal the views of Governor Douglas and the British naval officers, Captain Hornby and Admiral Baynes. From these it is clear that although Dallas, the representative of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Northwest, thought to make "the affair of the pig" an occasion for the assertion of British sovereignty on the island, the responsible officials desired only to stabilize the situation pending action by the home governments. Douglas, who believed that British troops could be landed without producing a "collision," favored measures of joint military occupation to equalize the positions of the two powers. Hornby thought such action most unwise, and it was through his influence that the decision was reached to use naval rather than ground forces to effect the equalization. The American commanders Harney and Pickett mismanaged matters badly, took pride in their "conquest" of the island, and had to be replaced before an amicable adjustment could be put into effect.

CHARLES M. GATES

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Latin-American History

James Ferguson King

HISTORY OF THE LATIN-AMERICAN NATIONS. By William Spence Robertson, Emeritus Professor of History in the University of Illinois. Third edition. (New York: D. Appleton-Century, pp. xviii, 560, \$4.00.) This volume was reviewed in Volume XXVIII, 343-45, of the *Review*.

CATÁLOGO DE LOS FONDOS DEL REAL CONSULADO DE AGRICULTURA, INDUSTRIA Y COMERCIO Y DE LA JUNTA DE FOMENTO. [Publicaciones del Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Volume I.] (Habana: imp. "El Siglo XX," 1943, pp. xlv, 655.) The old wooden-floored Spanish barracks that since 1906 have housed the valuable collections of documents in the Archivo Nacional de Cuba has been pulled down, and the construction of a modern fireproof building has begun. It is altogether fitting that as the ground is broken for the new edifice the first volume of the "Publicaciones del Archivo Nacional de Cuba"—a catalogue of one of these priceless collections—should come from the press. The Real Consulado de Agricultura, Industria y Comercio of Havana was organized under a *cédula* of April 4, 1794, to promote the economic development of Cuba. From the beginning it performed the functions of a department of public works, a department of commerce and industry, and a department of agriculture, along with some duties that ordinarily would be assigned to a department of education. Until 1832 it also acted as a court of appeals for commercial suits. In that year its judicial duties were transferred to a special court and the name of the older body was changed to Junta de Fomento, under which title it continued until 1854, when its administrative powers were handed over to the captain general. Even then it acted as an advisory council to the executive until 1861. The importance of the Consulado and the Junta de Fomento will be apparent when it is recalled that they built and maintained roads and bridges, cared for ports and lighthouses, constructed railroads—including the first in the Spanish Empire—imported new varieties of plants,

conducted agricultural and industrial experiments, supported a nautical school, maintained a chair of chemistry and botany in the Royal Hospital, supervised the importation of slaves until the trade was closed in 1821, and promoted the importation of thousands of laborers from Spain, the Canary Islands, France, the United States, and China to replace the slaves when the African trade was closed. The Consulado even organized a fleet of war vessels to cruise against the privateers of Spain's revolted colonies. During the closing decade of its work as an administrative body the Junta de Fomento expended over \$400,000 annually. Altogether there are over nine thousand *expedientes* dealing with almost every conceivable subject related to the history of Cuba between 1794 and 1854. Interesting items also appear on Puerto Rico, Jamaica, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Mexico, the Bahamas, and the United States, as well as other countries of the American continents and of Europe. Señor Llaverías, the director of the Archivo Nacional, who supplies an introduction, deserves commendation for the service he has rendered to investigators in preparing this catalogue and for his organization of the papers in the Archivo Nacional. His efforts to secure an adequate building in which to house them merit an article apart. It is to be hoped that Volume I of the *Publicaciones* will be followed rapidly by catalogues of the remaining collections.

DUVON C. CORBITT

LA ESCUELA JURIDICO-POLITICA DE CORDOBA. Por *Carlos R. Melo*, Miembro del Instituto. [Universidad Nacional de Cordoba, Instituto de Estudios Americanistas, Cuaderno de historia, IV.] (Cordoba, imprenta de la Universidad, 1942, pp. 46.)

A LATIN AMERICAN SPEAKS. By *Luis Quintanilla*. (New York, Macmillan, 1943, pp. viii, 268, \$3.00.) "This is not a book by one American on *the other* America. It is a book on America, by an American." Thus the author, an eminent Mexican diplomat, now minister-designate to the U.S.S.R., sets the theme of this *libro de actualidad*. Señor Quintanilla buttresses his interpretation of the current conditions and relationships of the Americas with a selection of historical facts in order to impress the general public, for whom the book was written, with the necessary mutuality of American problems, aspirations, and future conduct in world organization. The book is an eloquent popular vindication of a Good Neighbor Policy in which Latin America, as well as the United States, must play a dynamic role.

FREE MEN OF AMERICA. By *Ezequiel Padilla*. (Chicago and New York, Ziff-Davis, 1943, pp. 173, \$2.50.) The author, minister of foreign affairs of Mexico, interprets the history of the Americas as a long evolution from slavery and social injustice toward liberty. He emphasizes the need for Latin Americans to give up negative attitudes based on a sense of past wrongs and to participate with the United States in a mutual program "to build an authentic continental democracy which shall at the same time serve the nations which lack liberty as a blue-print for action and a stimulus in their progress toward the good life" (p. 173).

ANUARIO DE HISTORIA ARGENTINA: AÑO 1941. [Sociedad de Historia Argentina.] (Buenos Aires, Talleres de A. Baiocco y Cía, 1942, pp. 661.) This bulky issue of the *Anuario*, like its predecessors for the years 1939 and 1940, in every way measures up to the high standards of recent Argentine historical scholarship. The volume contains the following sections: General articles, Historia jurídica, Fuentes para el estudio de la historia argentina y americana (reseñas documentales), Analectas, Rectificaciones, Bibliografía retrospectiva, Periódicos, Documentos, Digesto histórico, Reseña de las instituciones dedicadas a los estudios históricos, Crónica de la Sociedad de Historia Argentina, Conferencias, Bibliografía.

HANDBOOK OF LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES: 1941. No. 7. A Selective Guide to the Material published in 1941 on Anthropology, Archives, Art, Economics, Education, Folklore, Geography, Government, History, International Relations, Labor and Social Welfare, Language and Literature, Law, Libraries, Music, and Philosophy. Edited for the Joint Committee on Latin American Studies of the National Research Council, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the Social Science Research Council by *Miron Burgin*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1942, pp. xv, 649.) Volume VII of this annual guide to material in the humanities and social sciences meets, if not surpasses, the high editorial standards set in preceding numbers. The fact that the present volume contains seventy-nine more pages than its predecessor indicates the increasingly comprehensive character of the series. Deserving of special notice are the new section on Labor and Social Welfare and the special articles "Bibliografía del periodismo de América Española," by Rafael Heliodoro Valle, and "La sociología argentina: su pasado y su presente," by Alfredo Poviña.

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American Historical Association

OFFICIAL NOTICE TO THE MEMBERSHIP

At its meeting December 30, 1942, the Council of the Association approved a resolution to abolish the office of second vice president (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLVIII, 482) and directed the Executive Secretary to prepare the amendment for submission to the membership at least twenty days before the next annual meeting. This statement and the following paragraph comply with the directive of the Council and the constitutional provision governing the submission of amendments (see Article VIII).

The Council of the American Historical Association having approved a resolution to abolish the office of second vice president submits this resolution for consideration and vote at the annual meeting in 1943. Resolved that the words "a Second Vice President" be stricken from sections one and four of Article IV, and that section six of Article IV read, "If the office of President shall, through any cause, become vacant, the First Vice President shall thereupon become President." In Article V, section 1a, "Vice Presidents" shall be changed to read "Vice President." This amendment if adopted shall take effect January 1, 1945.

October 1, 1943

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*.

The fifty-eighth annual meeting of the American Historical Association will be held in New York City, December 29 and 30. The sessions will be in the halls of Columbia University or Barnard College, 116th Street and Broadway. The program is not yet completed. The business meeting will be Wednesday afternoon and the annual dinner and president's address that evening at the Faculty Club of Columbia University. Due to the uncertainties of attendance from outside the city no arrangements have been made for a headquarters hotel. A lounge room in the university buildings will be available for off the record conferences. Unless support hitherto given by advertisers fails, a program will be printed and mailed as usual. As outlined to date it gives promise of some interesting papers and discussions. The chairman of the program committee is Professor Joseph R. Strayer of Princeton University. Dr. Paul H. Beik of the Columbia staff has assumed the responsibility for local arrangements.

Late in August the Special Service Division of the Army, through Colonel Francis J. Spaulding (Harvard University) and Brigadier General Frederick Osborn, the head of the division, laid before the Executive Secretary an urgent request that the American Historical Association assume responsibility for the

preparation of material to be furnished the soldiers as a basis for the discussion in voluntary groups of important questions uppermost in the minds of the men who are doing or to do the fighting. This request was reinforced by a direct letter from the Secretary of War, the Honorable Henry L. Stimson. At a called meeting, September 2, in Washington, the members of the Executive Committee considered the matter and heard Colonel Spaulding in fuller explanation of their plans and the reasons why in their measured judgment the American Historical Association was the one organization to whom they could entrust this important and highly responsible task. In the opinion of those present, confirmed by the necessary mail votes of those absent, it was a call to national service that the Association could not refuse. The Executive Secretary was authorized to sign the necessary contract and to engage the director agreed upon in the conference. He was further authorized to enlist the panel of ten historians, economists, political scientists, and sociologists who would form what will be called the Historical Service Board. It is a satisfaction to announce that Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, professor of American history and dean of the Graduate School at the University of Minnesota, has accepted appointment as director and will begin his work October 1. His offices will be in the Library of Congress Annex. The names of the members of the board and other developments will be reported at the Christmas meeting and in the January issue of the *Review*.

The Committee on American History in the Schools and Colleges, which began its work June 1, completed it October 1. It has held three meetings, the last two of which it was able to devote to the review and criticism of the prepared sections of the report. This report will be printed promptly and widely advertised by the publishers, the Macmillan Company. A preliminary price of one dollar has been set. It is concrete, specific, and indispensable to every teacher of history at any level. It is expected that the lay public will be found among its readers.

Other Historical Activities

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, the following, arranged in chronological order of materials, may be noted: 991 photographic prints and 2,763 exposures of microfilm of manuscripts in Spanish and Mexican archives and libraries, sixteenth to eighteenth centuries; typewritten manuscript by Elizabeth S. Kite entitled "Catholic Carrolls on the Potomac 1700-1790," with genealogical chart; manuscript catalogue (one volume) of "all the Curious Books, found in Mr. Magot's Study, after his decease" [ca. 1770?]; typewritten copies of addresses by Jonathan Elmer, New Jersey, May, 1774, and July 8, 1776, with comment by Robert Potter Elmer, March 24, 1943; microfilm (246 exposures) of Sparks Manuscripts, Volume 72, Harvard College

Library (letters and extracts from correspondence of Sir Joseph Yorke, British ambassador to Holland, January, 1776, to December, 1780) (selections from the British Public Record Office); four volumes and about ninety-seven loose papers of, or pertaining to, the Wright, Shropshire, Richardson, Neal, and Moseley families, mainly of Georgia (Augustus Romaldus Wright, M.C., Francis C. Shropshire, and others), ca. 1776 to 1939 (principally 1834 to 1939) and undated; positive photostat of letter from George Washington to General William Smallwood, October 21, 1778; ten letters from William Maclay to Benjamin Rush, March 6, 1789, to July 16, 1790; two letters of James Madison, July 5 and July 31, 1790; letter to Nathaniel Terry concerning suit against estate of General Nathanael Greene and memorandum giving opinion on case in which Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth was executor, both by Alexander Hamilton, April 21, 1803, and undated; positive photostat of letter of Thomas Jefferson, March 22, 1808; letter of Thomas Jefferson, dated at Monticello, July 8, 1820; positive photostat of typewritten list of papers of Thomas Jefferson in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; ten pieces of correspondence of Albert Brown and others, mainly letters written to Amos L. Underwood, Utica, New York, relating to the economic and religious difficulties of the Mormons in Ohio, Illinois, Missouri, and Iowa; letter from Francis Scott Key to Mary Tayloe Key (Mrs. Francis Scott Key), dated at Tripoli, May 15, 1841; manuscript (one volume) of award in arbitration, Guatemala, 1841 (decision rendered by the distinguished Central American jurist, Licentiate Miguel Larreinaga, in litigation between the British agent, Jonas Glenton, and Ramón Solórzano over ownership and disposition of certain shares in partnership they had formed for purpose of cutting and exporting brazilwood); volume of newspaper clippings containing copies of diary entitled "Views of the Old World," by A. Alexander Franklin Hill, M.D., United States Navy (surgeon on the *Cumberland*), 1852; ninety-nine papers of John Covode, relating to military affairs and politics in Pennsylvania and the nation, 1854 to 1871 and undated; negative photostats of four letters of Thaddeus Stevens (one of them by Lydia Smith for him), June 20, 1859, to July 13, 1866; photograph of portrait by William Garl Brown of Willie Person Mangum, 1859 (photograph, 1932); typewritten copy of extracts from diary of General Montgomery C. Meigs, which he carried with him during the Civil War, June 30, 1860, to April 28, 1865; photostats (negatives) of two letters to Cadmus Marcellus Wilcox (one from Robert E. Lee and one from Harrison Adreon), dated November 12, 1862, and April 22, 1879; three letters of William Tecumseh Sherman, and one letter, by S. M. Boerman, relating to him, February 24, 1863, to December 6, 1888; two letters of John Sherman, July 27, 1868, and December 15, 1891; manuscript "A Daily Paper of the Past," by William Dean Howells, undated, and printed volume, "Jubilee Days. An illustrated Daily Record of the Humorous Features of the World's Peace Jubilee—," Boston, 1872, to which the manuscript pertains; scrapbook, including many loose pieces, of the Reverend Edwin C. Dinwiddie (state superintendent of the Pennsylvania Anti-

Saloon League), mainly 1894 to 1906; sixteen papers of Anna L. Dawes, 1894 to 1932 and undated (mainly correspondence with librarians and others relating to the papers of her father, Henry Laurens Dawes); one page from diary of Woodrow Wilson, March 27, 1901 (restricted); four boxes of additional papers of Waldo L. McAtee relating to wild life (principally birds and insects), mainly 1907 to 1943; five papers of Charles N. Elliot (correspondence with Major General Daniel E. Sickles and Judge Alfred B. Beers) relating to Walt Whitman, September 8 to October 28, 1912; one box of papers of the Woman's Titanic Memorial Association, 1912 to 1931; manuscript entitled "Preface," pertaining to poetry, by George Sterling, April 17, 1918; typewritten copies of three papers of Dr. Frederick Starr, October 14, 1927, to June 10, 1929, and undated (including diary entry pertaining to visit to Torin-ri in Koshin County, South Zenra Province, and address expressing welcome by the Korean public to visiting American journalists); twenty-one containers of additional papers of General Leonard Wood (restricted); one box of manuscripts (autograph and typewritten) of lectures on literary relations of England and America, by Professor George Stuart Gordon, delivered in University College, London, March, 1931; negative photostats of letter from Albert Einstein to Sigmund Freud and letter from Freud to Einstein, 1932; autograph copy signed of "The White Man's Burden," by Rudyard Kipling, undated; letter from Albert Olleve to Sister Saint Anne, October 11, 1937, and three illustrated cards pertaining to Joan of Arc; typewritten copies of two poems by Mrs. Emmie A. May relating to London during the war, December 18, 1940, and undated; one additional volume of papers of Mrs. Edith Benham Helm (Mrs. James M. Helm) pertaining to social functions at the White House, October 1, 1941, to August 31, 1942 (restricted); one box of manuscript (autograph and typewritten with autograph corrections) of "We Hold These Truths" by Norman Corwin (radio drama of December 15, 1941); one box of additional typewritten and printed copies of letters from Douglas Cockerell (bookbinder, Letchworth, England) to his brother, T. D. A. Cockerell, in America, September 27, 1942, to March 24, 1943; three sets of page proofs corrected by the author, and parts of a fourth set, with typewritten pages, and the author's printed paper-bound copy, Anderson House, 1942, of "The Eve of St. Mark's" (play) by Maxwell Anderson; eight pages of autograph notes by Jan Struther for her address before the English Speaking Union in memory of Stephen Vincent Benét, March 21, 1943; two typewritten drafts with autograph corrections and mimeographed copy of typewritten copy, April 14, 1943, of "Tomorrow the World" (a play) by James Gow and Arnaud d'Usseau; typewritten play (one volume), "Dark Eyes" by Elena Miramova in collaboration with Eugenie Leontovich, dated May 13, 1943; autograph poem signed, "Wings Away," by Daisy Sanial Gill, May, 1943; final revised draft, printed in ink by the author (one volume), of "Pagan Sonnets" by John Myers O'Hara with foreword by him, signed, May, 1943; two autograph poems signed, "Let Courage Wane" and "Up Rise the Larks," by Gertrude Gideon Williams, undated.

In response to the continued demand for information about agencies of the first World War, whose records for the most part are in the National Archives, a *Handbook of Federal World War Agencies and Their Records, 1917-1921*, has just been published. This 666-page volume, reproduced by photo-offset, contains descriptions of the organization, functions, and records of over 2,300 agencies of the Federal government that contributed to the participation of the United States in the war or handled reconstruction problems. In addition there are articles on some sixty international bodies in which the United States was represented. Bibliographical references for the most important agencies are included and there is also a select general bibliography. Cloth-bound copies of the *Handbook* are on sale at the Government Printing Office. Other recent publications of the National Archives designed to make more accessible groups of records frequently consulted by agencies concerned with the present war include a *Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the United States Food Administration, 1917-1920, Part 1*, the *Headquarters Organization*, and *Special List No. 5, List of the Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs Relating to the Dominican Customs Receivership, 1905-1940*, compiled by Kenneth Munden. A field office of the National Archives has been opened in Chicago for the purpose of assisting Federal agencies in that region with their records administration problems. Gaston L. Litton, who has been a field representative with headquarters in New York City, will have charge of the work in Chicago. Research at the National Archives has led to the development of a new method of preserving the print of newspapers by lamination. Sheets of cellulose acetate foil are placed as usual in lamination on top and beneath the newspaper to be treated. Enough heat is applied to cause the ink to penetrate the foil but not enough to melt the foil as in regular lamination. When cool the foil is peeled off; the printing adheres to it but the paper does not. This foil is then laminated to high-grade white paper, and the ground-wood newsprint, which discolours with age or exposure to light, is thus eliminated. Alfred Manes, professor of insurance research in the school of business of the University of Indiana, has received a temporary appointment as consultant to the National Archives on insurance records. He will examine and report on the records of enemy insurance companies seized during World War I by the Office of the Alien Property Custodian and now in the National Archives, with a view to assisting in determining which of them have sufficient value to warrant their preservation. Dr. Manes, for many years general secretary and director of the German Association for Insurance Research, professor at the Berlin University of Commerce and the University of Berlin, and writer on insurance, social legislation, and public finance, is an outstanding authority on insurance history and records. Three field consultants of the National Archives have also been appointed: Christopher Crittenden of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Leon de Valinger of the Delaware Public Archives Commission, and Margaret C. Norton of the archives department of the Illinois State Library. They will keep the National Archives informed on problems relating to

Federal records in their regions and will undertake particular projects upon assignment.

The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, New York, has recently received from the President additional sections of his White House files for the period 1933 to 1942. They consist mainly of letters, reports, memoranda, and other documents relating to the administration of government agencies and to the relations of the government with business, industry, and agriculture. The material dealing with government agencies includes correspondence and reports on the operation, policies, and personnel of the Public Works Administration, the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Work Projects Administration, and the National Youth Administration. The sections dealing with business, industry, and agriculture contain materials on the bank holiday of 1933, bank deposit insurance, the need for revision of statutes governing bankruptcy, the regulation of advertising, the control of public utilities, the establishment of the National Recovery Administration code for coal, labor unrest in the coal-producing areas, the passage of the Guffey Coal Act, the regulation of public transportation, the development of public power and irrigation projects, and the production of cotton and sugar under the Agricultural Adjustment Act. The material received also includes some correspondence on topics related to national defense (none, however, later than 1941), such as the protection of military and naval installations, the Army and Navy aircraft-building program, the encouragement of Army recruiting, the organization of civilian defense, and the problems of small business in connection with the defense program. Other files deal with the Nye investigation of munitions manufacturers, the export of munitions to Japan, American trade policy with reference to Japan, the boycott of German-made goods, the German refugee problem, and the activity of the Bund in the United States. Sections of the President's personal files received contain letters that accompanied gifts sent to him, communications received by him in response to his radio addresses of December 8, 1941, and January 6, February 23, April 28, and September 3, 1942; and a small number of letters addressed to him by Frenchmen and other Europeans in France during the first year of the German occupation of that country. Mrs. Roosevelt presented the library with about one thousand letters received by her from British citizens during her visit to England, Ireland, and Scotland in October and November, 1942.

Members of the National Archives staff who have recently been detailed or transferred to do records administration, war history, or research work in other government agencies include Robert Bahmer, chief of the division of Navy Department Archives, to the War Department; Percy S. Flippin, chief of the former Division of Independent Agencies Archives, to the Justice Department; and Harold Larson, of the Division of Interior Department Archives, to the War Department. Among members of the staff who have recently entered the armed services are

Edward G. Campbell, Don Cook, W. W. Henderson, and Buford Rowland. Stuart Portner, a former member of the staff and more recently archivist of the War Relocation Authority, has been appointed to take Mr. Campbell's place as chief of the Division of War Department Archives.

Dr. Stanley Pargellis announces that the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad Company has deposited in the Newberry Library the collection of general office files and records of the Burlington Railroad for the years 1850-87, inclusive, which for many years have been in storage. These records include correspondence of the pioneers who founded and built this railroad and directed its policy during its first thirty-seven years, as well as files relating to construction, operation, and finance, many items of local and biographical interest. It would be a happy outcome if other corporations having similar invaluable records would follow the example of the Burlington and its president, Mr. Ralph Budd. The material will be arranged and a subject index prepared, a task that may take two years. Access to the material will be limited by the librarian to students especially qualified to work in such archives and having serious research projects.

The collection of the papers of Booker T. Washington at the Tuskegee Institute has been presented in its entirety to the Library of Congress. It is generally regarded by scholars as perhaps the richest and most important source of information on the history of the Negro. It includes an estimated 180,000 pieces and will form one of the largest manuscript collections in the library. His papers contain correspondence with Theodore Roosevelt, Elihu Root, William Howard Taft, and many other men of historical importance. When classified and indexed, the collection is expected to shed much new light on the status of the Negro in politics during the thirty-year period from 1885 to 1915.

The collection of books and other materials on the life and personality of Theodore Roosevelt has been presented to the Harvard College Library by the Roosevelt Memorial Association. Approximately eleven thousand books, pamphlets, and periodicals by or about Roosevelt or relating to his time are included in the collection, which has been housed at Theodore Roosevelt House, 28 East 20th Street, New York City. Perhaps even more important and interesting than the publications are 150 of Roosevelt's personal scrapbooks, manuscript collections of Roosevelt and several of his associates, and microfilm copies of approximately fifty thousand of his letters. The scope of the library was set and the groundwork upon it was done by R. W. G. Vail, now New York State librarian. The collection includes all the important anti-Roosevelt material.

Through the generosity of the Cambridge University Press, an endowed Chair of American History and Institutions has been established at Cambridge. A sum of £44,000 has been appropriated by the press for this purpose. The event has had wide acclaim in the British press. The Cambridge University Press is not an

endowed institution but puts the profits of widely sold titles, educational or otherwise, into the support of its diversified publications of research and scholarship. This benefaction to the teaching resources of Cambridge University, the endowment of the American History Chair, comes from the slow accumulation of the ordinary profits of publishing. The Chair has not been filled as yet and it may be some time before the incumbency can be arranged for.

The National Library of Peru, the principal repository of books in the country, was practically all destroyed by fire on May 10th. Over one hundred thousand bound volumes were lost together with forty thousand manuscripts, and many maps and valuable geographical works belonging to the Lima Geographical Society, housed in the same building, were also destroyed. The National Archive in an adjoining building was fortunately saved. The United States Department of State has formed a committee of leading scholars in the field of Latin-American history to formulate plans for assistance in restoring the library. Dr. Lewis Hanke of the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress is secretary.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has paid a gracious and well-deserved tribute to its late superintendent by publishing a booklet, *Joseph Schafer, Student of Agriculture*. His associate, the late Louise Phelps Kellogg, writes of Dr. Schafer as a historian; Clarence B. Lester characterizes the man, and a bibliography of his writings is supplied by Everett E. Edwards and Thomas J. Mayock of the United States Department of Agriculture. In the judgment of one who knew Dr. Schafer from his undergraduate days till his death, it is an adequate appraisal of a very fine gentleman and scholar.

The Historical Section of the Office of the Chief of Ordnance, United States Army, was established September 21, 1942. Source material for the writing staff is constantly being received from an untold number of ordnance establishments, the commanding officers of all of which are charged with submitting historical accounts of their activities every ninety days. Two copies of each such narrative are requested, one for permanent file in the Ordnance Technical Library or National Archives, one as a working copy for use of the writing staff. The administrative element of the Ordnance Historical Section is housed in the Pentagon Building, Arlington, Virginia, the writing staff in a sub-office in Baltimore. Historical reports are received and evaluated in and acknowledged by the administrative office, then transferred to Baltimore for breakdown. Present policy contemplates the preparation of ten volumes of two hundred thousand to three hundred thousand words each on as many basic topics, the material entering these to be kept constantly up to within three months of the date current so that the completion of the entire project should be possible within six to twelve months following an armistice. The Ordnance Historical Section is fortunate in having been able to secure the counsel of an advisory committee, the chairman of which is Dr. Douglas Southall Freeman. Other members include Dr. James Truslow Adams,

Mr. R. V. Coleman, Brigadier General Benedict Crowell, Dr. Dumas Malone, and Major General William H. Tschappat. This committee has held an organizational meeting which was attended by two ordnance officers representing the historical section.

Thirty-eight awards, totaling \$48,000, for the academic year 1943-44 have been announced by the Social Science Research Council. Among those named as post-doctoral research training fellows in the social sciences are Harry Bernstein, College of the City of New York, for training in the commercial and economic development of Mexico; and Rushton Coulborn, Atlanta University, for training in social philosophy. Included among the grants-in-aid appointees are Chester L. Barrows, Adelphi College; Frederick H. Cramer, Mt. Holyoke College; Henry W. Ehrmann, New School for Social Research; Courtney R. Hall, Adelphi College; Ella Lonn, Goucher College; John B. Mason, Fresno State College; Howard Robinson, Oberlin College; Hans Rosenberg, Brooklyn College; W. Sherman Savage, Lincoln University; and Charles H. Van Duzer, Queens College.

The William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine, after completing its fiftieth volume, will begin in January, 1944, a new series with a widened field of interest and a changed title—*The William and Mary Quarterly, A Journal of Early American History, Institutions, and Culture*. The following board of editors has been chosen: Thomas P. Abernethy, University of Virginia; Randolph G. Adams, Clements Library; Julian P. Boyd, Princeton University; Hunter D. Farish, Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.; Leonard W. Labaree, Yale University; Curtis P. Nettels, University of Wisconsin; Stanley Pargellis, the Newberry Library; John E. Pomfret, College of William and Mary; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Harvard University; Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Princeton University; and Louis B. Wright, Henry E. Huntington Library. Richard L. Morton, College of William and Mary, will succeed as managing editor Dr. Earl G. Swem, who will retire from the editorship after twenty-three years of service.

The Middle States Council for the Social Studies (formerly the Middle States Association of History and Social Science Teachers) is concentrating upon two severely practical aspects of the present, broad historical problem—upon the better adaptation of American high-school courses in United States history and in world history to the fact of the changed place of the United States in the world. The council's winter meeting will be held at Columbia University, December 28, 1943. At the morning session leaders in the field will state the main aspects of the problem, and the membership will break up into sections each to work on its sector. The sections will rejoin to discuss overall progress late on December 28, and an agenda modified accordingly will precede the March meeting at the University of Pennsylvania, March 24, 25, 1944, which will conclude the work. It is hoped thus to produce an improved plan for each of the two high-school courses, which will be published in the 1944 proceedings. The president, Jeannette

P. Nichols of Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, invites suggestions, particularly from practical-minded members of the American Historical Association who realize the dependence of the guild and the nation upon well-projected history work in the high schools.

The third annual meeting of the Economic History Association was held at Princeton Inn, Princeton, New Jersey, September 3 and 4, 1943. The papers and discussion were grouped under the following topics: War and Economic History, Historical Aspects of Imperfect Competition, Development of Laissez-Faire Thought in America, The Impact of Imperial Germany on European Economic History, and Social Causation.

The Pennsylvania Historical Junto was organized in Washington, D. C., September 3, 1943. The purpose of the society is the study and preservation of Pennsylvania history. Its name is derived from the famous Junto founded by Benjamin Franklin in 1727. Its president is Dr. Homer T. Rosenberger, of the Department of Justice, one of the editors of *Pennsylvania History*; and Milton Rubincam, of the Office of Economic Warfare, second vice president and associate editor of the National Genealogical Society, is the secretary (6303 20th Avenue, Green Meadows, Hyattsville, Maryland). It is designed primarily for Washington residents with Pennsylvania backgrounds who wish to keep in touch with their native state, but out-of-town visitors are welcome to attend the monthly meetings. Inquiries should be addressed to the secretary.

Personal

Dr. Raymond J. Corrigan, S.J., director of the department of history in St. Louis University since 1932, died January 19 at the age of fifty-four. In addition to his theological training he pursued formal historical training at the Universities of Bonn and Munich. From the latter he received his doctorate with a thesis on *Die Propaganda-Kongregation und ihre Tätigkeit in Nord-Amerika*. In 1938 he published a volume on *The Church and the Nineteenth Century*. He was active in editorial work and at the time of his death was a member of the Executive Council of the American Catholic Historical Society.

Dr. David Y. Thomas, head of the department of history at the University of Arkansas from 1912 until his retirement in 1941, died April 18 at the age of seventy-one. He was a graduate of Emory University and received his doctor's degree from the University of Chicago in 1903. Long a member of this Association, he was also active in the work of the Political Science Association and the Southern Historical Association. He was the author (with J. H. Reynolds) of a *History of the Military Government in Newly Acquired Territory of the United States* (1904), *One Hundred Years of the Monroe Doctrine* (1923), and of volumes on the his-

tory of Arkansas and the University of Arkansas. At the time of his death he was teaching at the University of Texas.

Marc Jaryc, an internationally known authority in the field of historical bibliography and documentation, after a brief illness died in New York on April 20. He was born in Poland and studied at the Universities of Vienna and Heidelberg, but in 1926 he established himself in Paris and became a French citizen. He was associated in an editorial capacity with several periodicals, such as *Le Courrier graphique*, and assisted in editing the eighteenth volume of the *Encyclopédie française*, dealing with the graphic arts and with publishing. He was administrative secretary of the Société d'histoire moderne and editorial secretary of the *Revue d'histoire moderne*. In association with Pierre Caron he edited several major historical bibliographies, such as the *World List of Historical Periodicals and Bibliographies* and especially the *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences*, published for the International Committee of Historical Sciences, of which he was associate editor and editor from its beginnings in 1931 until his death. After the fall of France, Jaryc managed by exertions that gave evidence of great moral and physical courage to carry on the editing of the *International Bibliography*, in the face of difficulties that would easily have discouraged a scholar of less resolution. The last volume that has thus far appeared, which contains the entries for 1939, is a true monument to him. In order to continue a work that could no longer be carried on in Europe, Jaryc urged that he be enabled to come to the United States. The president of the International Committee, Waldo G. Leland, accordingly instructed him to come to Washington. He arrived in June, 1942, after again enduring great difficulties and hardships. He at once set in progress the work on the *Bibliography* for 1940 and at the same time commenced a systematic review of the work of the International Committee of Historical Sciences from its foundation in 1926. A section of this review was published, after Jaryc's death, in the *Journal of Modern History*, for June, 1943, under the title "Studies of 1935-1942 on the History of the Periodical Press." The death of Jaryc is a truly irreparable loss to international historical scholarship and to the International Committee of Historical Sciences. Not only was he invaluable to the committee because of his devotion to its undertakings and his rare, exact, and meticulous scholarship, but he had a constructive imagination that led him to see opportunities for important work, as well as the industry that made it possible for him to realize those opportunities. He had already begun to win a place in the ranks of American historical scholarship and to identify himself with our organizations and activities. Had he been spared he would undoubtedly have come to occupy a position of highly important usefulness in the United States. He is survived by his widow, Gousta Jaryc.

Albert Bushnell Hart, one of the oldest, most eminent, and most widely known teachers and writers in the field of American history, died June 16 in Boston, a

fortnight before his eighty-ninth birthday. He was one of the dwindling band who survived to see realized their early plans to promote the American Historical Association and this *Review* as the national organ of American historical scholarship. He was president of this Association in 1909 and of the American Political Science Association in 1912. These interests represented only a modest sector of his well-rounded and prodigiously active career. They are properly recalled here, although they may elsewhere be passed over, for to generations of Harvard students, to the general public, and even to the historical guild he was the teacher, the organizer, the promoter, the editor, the picturesque lecturer from picturesque sheaves of accumulated lore and bibliographical data. Many campus stories were told of him and he did not object and his spirit will take no offense as they are repeated in future years on and off the Harvard campus. Professor Hart was the author, joint author, or editor of about one hundred volumes, almost all in the field of American history and biography. All of these labors warrant Professor Hart's being called the most useful historical worker of his generation. The preparation of bibliographical aids, the editing of documents as helps to teaching, the editing of maps, handbooks, and texts, and his participation in the work of the Committee of Seven on the teaching of history were most directly concerned with methods and aids to teaching. On a different level he edited and contributed to several historical series useful to the historical student and to the general reader. Most students would count to his greatest credit the editorship of the twenty-eight volumes of *The American Nation*. It was no mean achievement to enlist such an able group of co-operating scholars and to secure from them the promised manuscripts with no unreasonable delays. In the four little volumes of the *Epochs of American History* series, at first only three volumes, he first introduced Woodrow Wilson to a wide audience of college students in the nineties. The two men differed then, even it is said about the best usages in English, and their political outlook and reading of American history were never the same. Professor Hart gave his later years largely to promoting the study of George Washington and Theodore Roosevelt. He was the historian of the United States Commission for the Celebration of the 200th Anniversary of the Birth of George Washington. Professor Hart was always vigorous in affirmation and dissent. He did not fail in what he thought was his duty nor remain silent when by pen or voice he could promote his views. He was always faithful in his attendance at the meetings of the American Historical Association. At the Philadelphia meeting in 1937 (where someone who saw him pass called him the "Last Leaf on the Tree") he arose in the business meeting to pay a brief, spontaneous, moving tribute to his colleague Professor Charles Haskins, whose obituary had just been read. It was probably his last word to his professional associates, and it was a fitting utterance by which to remember the veteran leader. For the record these data are added. Professor Hart was born in Clarksville, Pennsylvania, July 1, 1854. He graduated from Harvard in the class of 1880. His doctorate was earned at the University of Freiberg in 1893. He began

at Harvard as an instructor in 1883 and remained on the staff teaching both government and history in varying combinations until his retirement in 1926 as professor emeritus.

Dr. Nicholas J. Spykman, Sterling Professor of International Relations at Yale University and first director of the Yale Institute of International Studies, died June 26 at the age of forty-nine. He was born in Holland, studied at Delft and the University of Cairo, but all his degrees were from the University of California, where he earned his doctorate in 1923. His recent volume *America's Strategy in World Politics*, an application of geopolitical concepts to America's position, aroused lively discussion and was reviewed in this journal in October, 1942. Dr. Spykman had been a journalist in the Middle East, Far East, and Australasia before coming to this country to study and teach. He had been on the staff at Yale since 1925.

Leonard Clinton Helderman, professor of history in Washington and Lee University, died at his home on July 10 after a week's illness. Born at Vincennes, Indiana, in 1895, Dr. Helderman received his A.B. degree from Indiana State in 1921 and his Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin in 1929. He has served successively as assistant professor, associate professor, and professor of history at Washington and Lee since 1925. The fields of his special interest were the Old South and American constitutional development. Dr. Helderman's dissertation won the Hart, Schaffner, and Marx Prize, and it was expanded and published in 1931 as *National and State Banks—A Study in Their Origins*. Two grants from the Social Science Research Council resulted in *George Washington, Patron of Learning* (1932) and articles in various learned journals. He was also a contributor to the *Dictionary of American History* and was a member of this Association and of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and one of the organizers of the Southern Historical Association.

It is eminently fitting to note in the organ of the American Historical Association the sudden death on September 8 of Frederick P. Keppel, former president of the Carnegie Corporation. As a result of his broad understanding and enlightened leadership this great foundation contributed much to the support of the humanities and the enrichment of American life and culture. In these benefactions history shared. Mr. Keppel's sympathetic interest secured the Carnegie Revolving Fund, which now might well be called the Keppel Memorial Fund. From the same organization during Mr. Keppel's presidency came the funds for the support of the Commission on the Social Studies. The balance on hand at the close of its labors and all royalties from its publications were left with the Association and form the reserve for the continued publication of *Social Education*. In a long and varied career of unselfish service Mr. Keppel touched no institution that he did not vitalize and no person that he did not make his friend.

Professor Charles M. Andrews, professor emeritus of history at Yale University and a former president of the American Historical Association, died in New

Haven, September 9. A more extended notice of Professor Andrews' career will appear in the January issue.

Dr. James F. Kenney, director of historical research in the Public Archives of Canada at Ottawa, Canada, was elected honorary secretary of the Royal Society of Canada at the annual meeting of the society held in Hamilton, Canada, on May 25 and 26, 1943.

Associate Professor E. E. Pfaff of the Women's College of the University of North Carolina has been granted a leave of absence to serve as executive secretary of the Southern Council on International Relations, with headquarters at Chapel Hill.

Dr. Henry S. Stroupe, on leave as assistant professor of history at Wake Forest College, has been commissioned to instruct in the Navy Pre-Flight School at Chapel Hill.

Lancaster Pollard, formerly of the Washington Historical Society and the University of Washington, has been appointed superintendent of the Oregon Historical Society.

Philip E. Mosely, formerly associate professor of history at Cornell University, has been appointed professor of history at Hunter College of the City of New York and has received leave of absence to continue his work as assistant chief in the division of political studies in the Department of State.

Ronald V. Sires has accepted a position as assistant professor in history at Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington.

Lieutenant F. H. Squire was commissioned in the Navy in February and has been assigned to Iowa Pre-Flight School in Iowa City. He was formerly head of the department of history at the University of Delaware.

Louis B. Snyder, assistant professor of history at the City College of New York, has been granted leave of absence to serve as first lieutenant in the Army Air Forces and is now stationed at Cochran Field, Macon, Georgia.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

The motive behind Fred A. Shannon's "review" of my *The Coming of the Civil War*, published in your April issue, is too apparent to require comment. The distortion and exaggeration which he has used to accomplish his purpose, however, force a reluctant reply.

Paragraph one contains three assertions. Each is false. 1.) Shannon charges that by writing this book I have changed my attitude toward sectional textbooks.

The only inference which could give point to such a remark is that my book was intended for textbook purposes. Yet the book has not the slightest resemblance to a textbook and was published and circulated by the trade department of Charles Scribner's Sons. 2.) Shannon says that I have largely ignored "all causes of the war except uncalled-for attacks on slavery, raising (by "fanatics") of a moral issue, the gratuitous injection of the matter into politics, and the Southern defense of an English-country-gentleman way of life." The facts are that I do not hold the attack on slavery "uncalled-for"; I do not consider the Southern defense of an English-country-gentleman way of life a cause of war; and I do not hold, in the way implied, that the raising of a moral issue and its injection into politics produced the war. Both sides made all issues "moral" and both played politics for all they were worth. My book is not greatly concerned with the causes of the war or with war guilt. It is an attempt to show *how* the democratic procedure broke down under an unusual strain. Furthermore, on pages 15-16, I state clearly that I believe the war to have resulted from the unfortunate tangling of the three great movements of the middle period—expansion, sectionalism, and a great humanitarian-democratic impulse. Elsewhere I discuss economic, social, and emotional causes of war. 3.) Shannon charges that I "set out" to defend slavery. This is false. I did not set out to defend slavery. I do not attempt to do so; I do not even believe that it can be defended. I simply attempted to explain a section's institution in terms of its own day and to present both its advantages and disadvantages as a labor system.

Shannon's next paragraph is one of the most flagrant distortions of fact for the purpose of injury ever attempted in any scholarly journal. In a chapter entitled "The Southern Defense of Slavery," I trace the evolution of the pro-slavery argument from its beginning to its final form. Nowhere do I offer any opinions of my own or give approval to any argument. I even close my chapter with the remark that "unreason had engendered unreason." Yet Shannon takes the earliest and crudest of defenses offered by men a hundred years ago, ascribes them to me as personal opinion and then calls me naïve for defending slavery on such "hoary" grounds!

Shannon's next paragraph is a wholly unfair attack on the "precision" of my book because of "unindicated alterations" in quotations. An examination of these "alterations" shows that they are, in all but two cases, mechanical changes having to do with capitalization, punctuation, paragraphing, use of words instead of symbols, etc. They clarify but do not alter the meaning to the slightest degree. The statement that an alteration on page 50 alters the meaning is absolutely false. The two exceptions not of this kind do not occur in my original manuscript—a fact ascertained by the chairman of my department before I had the opportunity to check the original. It should also be noted that in the case of the Polk Diary my "alterations" are the same as those made by Allan Nevins in his briefer edition of the diary.

Yet Shannon plays up these "unindicated alterations" as though they were

actual errors made by a careless and unreliable author. He implies and then sweepingly asserts that they indicate the unsoundness of the entire work. He is still in his class in methods and ignores completely the fact that this book was aimed primarily at a trade market. Could any reviewer be more unfair?

The only answer to Shannon's assertion that I have misquoted Professor Hodder is that it is not true.

The rest of Shannon's "review" is given over to those slips which every author finds just when it is too late and which could easily be corrected by any high-school student. They are sickening enough, as every author knows, without some sadistic reviewer parading them about as though they were typical or had anything to do with scholarship. Common decency would suggest some generosity toward normal human frailty but Shannon seems to delight in exaggerating such slips and waxing facetious over them. He does not even confine himself to fact. The statement that my style is enlivened by a limited amount of slang is false. There is not, so far as I know, a single use of slang in the book. His statement that John Taylor avoided the use of the word "agriculturist" is also false. On page 39 of the *Arator* (1817 edition), to take only one example, Taylor uses the word twice in half a page: "... the weight of talent in Congress, has already appeared very visibly against the agriculturists," and "... if it fails to excite the agriculturists in and out of Congress. . . ." Nor do I admit that I have used the researches of my students. I say nothing of the kind and did nothing of the kind. Evidently the "precision" which Shannon demands of others is not required of himself.

One thing can be said to Shannon's credit. Not having qualified himself either by research or production in the field of my book he has refrained from any mention of its contents. He has merely tried to do with my book what he attempted in regard to Webb's *The Great Plains*, and my comments on that effort (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLVII, 627) apply here as there. I am quite certain that the experts would reject his finding in this case as thoroughly as they did in that.

University of Chicago

AVERY CRAVEN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Professor Craven unskillfully warps the issues throughout his communication. He admits sickening errors, though he does not confess their multiplicity. The most sickening of all is the communication above. In two previous drafts of his reply he mentioned a "grudge," and in the last paragraph of this one he has tried to come out into the open and name it. I hereby assure him that his review in the April, 1942, issue of the *American Historical Review* was so vague, generalized, and uninformed that I have scarcely thought of it since I first read it. Certainly, I did not think it weighty enough or sufficiently authoritative to warrant a reply. If there is any grudge, it is his—not mine.

Every statement of mine that he attacks as false is true. I admitted that his volume was not quite a textbook, and gave several reasons why it would not be

trustworthy as such. The rest of Craven's second paragraph does not harmonize with the spirit of his book. My statement about his proslavery bias was based on the book as a whole, not merely on the chapter he mentions. Frequently the abolitionist is "fanatical," but never the slavery apologist. Unreason was engendered in the South only because of unreason in the North. My statement about the quotation on page 50 is absolutely true. By an awkward omission, Professor Craven makes two Southern policies intended to "teach the western people their dependence upon the Southern people for a market." But his authority definitely states that the first policy was for the purpose of punishing Eastern industry. It is not my fault if the author fails to check his sources. And what "grudge" prompted the dragging of Professor Nevins into the discussion? It was not Nevins' version of Polk's Diary that Craven cited. Is it the author's habit to use one source and cite another? It is absolutely true that Craven manufactured a quotation from Hodder; and then he showed by the use of it that he understood neither Hodder nor the Dred Scott Decision. The reader should check this himself.

Webster says that "squashed" is a colloquialism and that "pussyfooting" is slang (both in Craven, p. 188). Other examples are available. But here is the big laugh. Professor Craven accuses me of saying that John Taylor "avoided the use of the word 'agriculturist.'" *I said no such thing.* I said he avoided the use of the word "*agriculturalist*." Certainly he used "agriculturist." Every place I have found the word in his works it is spelled that way. But Professor Craven cannot distinguish the difference, or even see it when it is pointed out to him.

I will confess this one thing. I *am* still in my "class in methods," and my twenty-five years' tutelage in that class has not yet taught me that slipshod scholarship is excusable even when writing a trade book.

If Craven's statement on page viii is not a generous acknowledgment of using the researches of his students, then what is it? I applauded his gesture, but suggested that students, not being finished scholars, need to be checked carefully. Mr. Craven does not credit me with having done sufficient research in the field to qualify as a critic, and cunningly refers to my high-school knowledge. Imagine the results if I had known any more about the subject! Mr. Craven's reply suggests that he should have let well enough alone. Even the quotation from me in his second paragraph is not quite accurate.

University of Illinois

FRED A. SHANNON